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Visualising Ethnicity in the Southwest Borderlands: Gender and Representation in Late Imperial and Republican China

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Declaration

I certify that the work contain in this thesis is the author's original work. No part of it has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Signature:

Date: 11 / Sep / 2017

Abstract

This thesis explores the mutual constitutions of visuality and empire from the perspective of gender, probing how the lives of China's ethnic minorities at the southwest frontiers were translated into images. Two sets of visual materials make up its core sources: the Miao album, a genre of ethnographic illustration depicting the daily lives of non-Han peoples in late imperial China, and the ethnographic photographs found in popular Republican-era periodicals. The study highlights gender ideals within images and aims to develop a set of "visual grammar" of depicting the non-Han. Casting new light on a spectrum of gendered themes, including femininity, masculinity, sexuality, love, body and clothing, the thesis examines how the power constructed through gender helped to define, order, popularise, celebrate and imagine possessions of empire.

In order to examine the visual transformations of images of non-Han, this study places the Miao albums and modern photographs side-by-side for comparison, revealing the different ways of seeing ethnic minorities when Han Chinese gender norms were de/reconstructed. The insights into the visual codes of gender also aim to place Chinese imperial models in a cultural context, testing how well the case of China fits into theories of empire generated mainly from European models. This thesis asks how imported imperial tools, in particular European technology and the science of human variations, were localised within the conceptualisation of nations in modern China. It also considers the relationship between text and image in historical analysis, uncovering the values of images to historians in novel ways. By taking an interdisciplinary approach, the thesis aims to contribute to the fields of gender, visual culture and imperial studies.

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Acknowledgement

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Introduction: The Chinese imperial model in the southwest borderland: gender, visuality and transitions

Imperial regimes need tools.[1] One of the more fascinating products of China's colonial expansion into Yunnan and Guizhou in the late-imperial period was the *Baimiao Tu* 百苗圖 (Miao Album), a genre of ethnographic illustration depicting the bodies, cultures and environments of various ethnic minorities of the southwest. Symbolising the growing bureaucracy and direct reign under the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties, Miao albums epitomise the intimate correlation between imperial power and visuality. Although the genre is known as the Miao album, the subjects of these works were not confined to the group officially recognised today as Miaozu 苗族, but included a number of ethnic minorities in Guizhou, Yunnan, Taiwan, Hunan and Hainan.[2] Since the nineteenth century, a number of albums have been brought to Europe and North America, valued for their ethnographic information and as part of the preservation impulse that Social Darwinism helped to bring about. As a result, Miao albums can be found not only in Chinese collections, but also in the collections of the Wellcome Trust, the Bodleian Library, the Pitt Rivers Museum, the British Library, the Harvard-Yenching Library, and many other Western institutions.[3]

In my analysis of the mutual implication and constitution of empire and images, gender is placed in the centre. This thesis thus investigates three intersecting areas: image, gender and imperial power. Put another way, in the context of imperial regimes, it focuses on the pivotal and remarkable role of gender in the visual representation of ethnic minorities in the southwest of China, and demonstrates how power constructed

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[1] Daniel Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

[2] Norma Diamond, "Defining the Miao: Ming, Qing, and Contemporary views," in *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers,* ed., Steven Harrell (Seattle, WA and London: University of Washington Press, 1995): 92-116.

[3] For the collection of Miao albums, see Laura Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise: Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 213-219; Qi Qingfu 祁慶富, *Qingdai Shaoshu Minzu Tuce Yanjiu* 清代少數民族圖冊研究 (*Research on The Qing-Era Ethnographic Albums*) (Beijing: Zhongguo Minzu Daxue Chubanshe, 2012), 195-285; Qi Qingfu , "Guo Neiwai Shoucang Dianyi Tuce Gaishuo 國內外收藏滇夷圖冊概說 (A Brief Introduction of the Collections of Miao Albums of Yunnan Domestically and Abroad)," *Sixiang Zhanxian* 思想戰線, 34, 4 (2008): 21-30; Shi Hui 史暉, "Guowai "Miaotu" Shoucang yu Yanjiu 國外"苗圖"收藏與研究 (The Collections and Researches on "Miao Albums" Overseas)," (Ph.D. Diss., Zhongyang Minzu Daxue, 2009). This thesis uses many unpublished albums, including some not recognised in previous studies, and these are listed in the bibliography. Regarding the album's collectors and dates of collection, see the appendix to this thesis.

through gender contributes to define, order, celebrate and imagine possessions of Empire, and to express and articulate ideologies of imperialism. It aims to develop a gendered "visual grammar" of representing the non-Han subject, and unearth the gender conventions behind this visual coding.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, empire gained a new tool or medium, namely photography, with which to visualise the southwest. Wartime China in particular witnessed a blooming of photography of non-Han subjects when the southwest borderland became strategically important to the Republican government; that is to say, the visualisation of ethnic minorities in the southwest was refashioned in new media. Like the Miao albums, ethnographic photography was a powerful medium for the Republican regime's definition of the borderland in the southwest, but the gender conventions behind the images were transformed substantially. The reconfiguration of a spectrum of gendered concepts, including feminism, women's liberation, changing sexual regulation and marriage reform all contributed to the re-making of perception of the non-Hans in modern China. By drawing together these two sets of visual sources and taking a comparative approach, this thesis deciphers the gendered codes in Miao albums and modern ethnographic images, to investigate what these representations reveal about the Han gender regimes within which they were embedded, and the visual transformations of non-Han groups from dynastic empire to modern nation-state. The investigation of these two periods best exemplifies the transformation of the "art" of representation: changing gender discourses in Han Chinese culture are inextricably bound up with the shifting visual and textual representations of non-Han groups.

Over the past three decades, more and more scholars in both China and the West have realised the value of Miao albums and explored them from different perspectives. A few albums have been reprinted, including those in the collections of the National library of Taiwan, Getty Library, the Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig and several Chinese libraries at both national and local levels.[4] Book chapters and articles have introduced

[4] Rui Yifu 芮逸夫, ed., *Yingyin Miaoman Tuji* 影印苗蠻圖集 (*A Collection of Reprinted Miao Albums*) (Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Lishi Yuyan Yanjiusuo, 1973); Song Guangyu 宋光宇, *Huanan Bianjiang Minzu Tulu* 華南邊疆民族圖錄 (*Illustrations of Nations of the Southern Borderland*) (Taipei: Guoli Zhongyang Shuguan, 1991); David Michael and Laura Hostetler, *The Art of Ethnography: a Chinese "Miao Album"* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006); Ingo Nentwig, *Das Yunnan-Album Diansheng Yixi Yinan Yiren Tushuo: Illustrierte Beschreibung der Yi-Stämme im Westen und Süden der Provinz Dian* (Leipzig: Museum für Völkerkunde zu

further albums in the collection of museums and libraries such as the British Library, the Wellcome Trust and the Italian Geographical Society in Rome.[5] Situating them in the global context of Qing imperial expansion, several historians have also demonstrated their value as sources symbolising imperial visual regimes, one of the most representative works being *Qing Colonial Enterprise: Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China*, by Laura Hostetler.[6] This thesis treats China as an empire in parallel with its contemporaries in Europe.[7] Placing the albums in the context of late imperial China's political, administrative and military expansion into the Asian borderland, this thesis explores the imperial images from new perspectives by investigating the subtle imperial dimensions of gender and imagery.

Leipzig, 2003); Chuan Zhengyu 揣振宇, ed., *Diansheng Yiren Tushuo* 滇省夷人圖說 (*Illustrations and Text of Barbarians in Yunnan*) (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanhe, 2009); Yunnan Daxue Tushuguan 雲南大學圖書館， ed., *Qingdai Dinqian Minzu Tupu* 清代滇黔民族圖譜 (*Qing Dynasty Albums of Ethnic Groups in Yunnan and Guizhou*) (Kunming: Yunnan Meishu Publishing, 2004); Li Zefeng 李澤奉 and Liu Ruzhong 劉如仲, *Qingdai Minzu Tuzhi* 清代少數民族圖志 (*Qing Dynasty Ethnographic Illustration*) (Qinghai: Qinghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1997).

[5] Hartmut Walravens, "Illustrations of Ethnic Groups in Southwestern China." in *Pearls of the Orient: Asian Treasures from the Wellcome Library*, ed., Allan Nigel (London: Serindia Pub, 2003), 179-93; Nicholas Tapp and Cohn Don, *Tribal Peoples of Southwest China* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 2003); Giuliano Bertuccioli, "Chinese Books from the Library of the Italian Geographical Society in Rome Illustrating the Lives of Ethnic Minorities in South-west China," *East and West*, 37 (1987): 399-438.

[6] Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise,* 1; Also see: Laura Hostetler, "Introduction: Early Modern Ethnography in Comparative Historical Perspective," in *The Art of Ethnography*, 10-16. Laura Hostetler, "From Global to Local: Exploration and Ethnography in Southwest China." *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine*, 26 (2007): 79-97; "Qing Connections to the Early Modern World: Ethnography and Cartography in Eighteenth-Century China," *Modern Asian Studies*, 34, 3 (2000): 623-662.

[7] Criticism of eurocentric historiography and the idea of treating China as parallel empire have been developed in a few disciplines including economic history, boundary history and cultural studies. See: Enrique Dussel, "Beyond Eurocentrism: The World-System and the Limits of Modernity," in *The Cultures of Globalization*, eds., Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 3-31; Bin Wong, *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997); Victor B. Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c 800-1830. V. 2: Mainland Mirrors: Europe, Japan, China, South Asia, and the Islands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Jack Goody, *Renaissances: The One or the Many?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); David Porter, ed., *Comparative Early Modernities, 1100-1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Imperialism does not have to mean military conquest and economic colonisation; in this thesis it is treated very much in the cultural sense.[8] Led by John MacKenzie, the series *Manchester University Press Studies in Imperialism* has contributed enormously to examining the mutual constitution of empire and British culture and society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[9] These studies understand imperialism as a pervasive and persistent set of cultural attitudes towards the rest of the world informed to varying degrees by militarism, patriotism, and a belief in racial superiority. The scholarship of the MacKenzie school has shown the great energy generated by investigating popular culture, imperial heroes, museums, and missionaries, hunting, conservation, science and environment in the study of imperialism.[10] Over the past decades, several historians have identified a parallel imperialism in Europe and China, and Emma Teng's analysis of Qing colonisation in Taiwan is a good example. Teng values the cultural dimensions of imperialism, suggesting that, "if we wish to understand the Qing formation of a geographically and ethnically diverse empire, scholars of China must similarly attend to the role of colonial discourse in this process and the cultural dimensions of the frontier experience."[11] This thesis is also dedicated to the cultural dimensions of frontier experience in the southwest of China, exploring some new and interesting ways to extend our knowledge of China's engagement with empire.

Several works treat the Miao albums as "evidence" of study in the history and economic and social lives of non-Han in the southwest. [12] Such ideas need to be reconsidered carefully, since the Miao albums were mainly made by male Han Chinese

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[8] John MacKenzie, "Introduction," in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed., John MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 1-16. Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage Books, 1994), 13-15.

[9] Cherry Leonardi, "The Power of Culture and the Cultures of Power: John MacKenzie and the Study of Imperialism," in *Writing Imperial Histories*, ed., Andrew Thompson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 49-73.

[10] Andrew Thompson, "Introduction," in *Writing Imperial Histories*, 1-28.

[11] Emma Jinhua Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 12.

[12] Du Wei 杜薇, *Baimiaotu Huikao* 百苗圖匯考 (*Collective Research on Miao Albums*) (Guiyang: Guizhou Renmin Chubanshe, 2002); Liu Feng 劉鋒, *Baimiaotu Shuzheng* 百苗圖疏證 (*Critical Reading of Miao Albums*) (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2004); Yang Tingshuo 楊庭碩 and Pan Shengzhi 潘盛之, *Bai Miaotu Chaoben Huibian* 百苗圖抄本彙編 (*Copies of Miao Albums*) (Guiyang: Guizhou Renmin Chubanshe, 2004).

and for Han or Manchu viewers.[13] It is more proper to see them as representations of ethnic minorities, or more precisely reflections of Confucian ideological culture. It is fair to say that the album has more to do with Han Chinese culture than the various ethnic minority subjects in its images: it is Han Chinese culture, endowed with hierarchy and power, which translates what the artists see in the field into images on paper, silk and other mediums. In parallel, in his studies of Asian borderlands, Giersch has briefly mentioned, "despite occasional accuracy, eighteenth-and nineteenth-century ethnographies were more representative of Chinese notions about "Barbarian" than they were empirical investigations of indigenous communities." [14] This thesis takes the argument further and examines exactly how imagery of non-Han subjects was produced through a web of gendered ideas relating to femininity, masculinity, sexuality, body and costume, providing insight into the idealised gendered order and values which were advocated, despised or felt to require transformation among a rapidly changing Han Chinese society.

Current theories of cultural imperialism have been mainly generated from European examples, and this thesis contests the applicability of these theories to Chinese cases. Challenging the generalisation of imperial interpretational frameworks, it adds new dimensions to our understandings of the dynamics of gender and also other non-European imperial regimes. Focusing on China's southwest borderlands, I explore the Chinese imperial model by considering the convergence and conjunction of gender, image and imperialism. This suggests that, in a partial parallel to the European experience, gender and images were tools useful to imperial regimes, but the specific ways in which Confucian rites and notions of virtue were embedded in women's bodies, clothing, chastity, work and space in late imperial China and the subsequent configuration of questions over liberating "oppressed women", nationhood and modernity, leave China's imperial expansion in the southwest distinct from the European model.

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[13] The Manchu were potential viewers of Miao albums. Although the Miao albums symbolised the visual regimes of the Empire ruled by Manchu in Qing dynasty, Han Chinese values, particularly Confucian rites and morality, are important "visual grammar" in Miao albums. After the Manchu conquered China, they also adopted a number of Confucian rites, thus the power represented in Miao albums also worked among Manchu viewers, which will be further discussed in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

[14] Patterson Giersch, *Asian Borderlands: The Transformation of Qing China's Yunnan Frontier* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 74.

Several Miao albums make claims to be conveyers of truth and photography was also regarded as a technology producing facts or reality by Republican Chinese. Yet one of the principal tasks of this thesis is to highlight the conventions – in particular Han norms of rites and virtue – and modernity embedded in both Miao albums and modern ethnographic photography. The design and depictions of Miao album images all follow a certain standard and systemic visual code. Setting out to unveil this so-called truth, the project aims to elaborate the visual grammar of depicting and photographing the non-Han subject. Imperial ideologies were commercialised, popularised and enjoyed through the making and circulation of these ethnographic images. Analysis of the ways in which the non-Han were represented also discloses China's imperial models of the gendered regimes of visuality and their reciprocal constitutions.

Observational practices: detractor, defender and truth

Although this thesis advocates new ways of seeing Miao albums and ethnographic photography, it is also worth thinking over how our knowledge associating them with truth was produced and rationalised. James Clifford alerts us to the "inherently partial, committed and incomplete" nature of ethnographic truth-claims. [15] Ethnographic writings could properly be called "fictions" in the sense of being "something made or fashioned", thus there is need to consider their invented meaning, the unreal element of ethnographic representation.[16] Bearing this in mind, the "reality" emphasised in Chinese ethnography and conveyed through both words and images thus demands that we reconsider the process of constructing these truths and what meanings were invented in their development. Analysis of this uncovers the conventions of documenting and conceptualising authenticity in ethnography extending across China's long history.

In the preface to *Weixi Jianwenji* 維西見聞紀 (*Record of Things Heard and Seen in Weixi*), an eighteenth-century travel account later accompanied by illustrations,[17] Yu Qingyuan 餘慶遠, the brother of a local government official in western Yunnan, claimed:

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[15] James Clifford, "Introduction: Partial Truth," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, eds., James Clifford and George Marcus (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 4-5.

[16] Ibid, 6-7.

[17] For the images of *Weixi Yirentu* 維西夷人圖 (an album of eight entries), see Qi, *Qingdai Shaoshu Minzu Tuce Yanjiu*, 50; for relevant research, also see Deng Zhangying 鄧章應 and Bai

The six ethnic groups in Weixi have all been recorded in the provincial gazetteer. Yet its texts are copied from other accounts and are generally inaccurate. Moreover, the most exotic (customs) are omitted. I observed with my own eyes and interviewed a wide range of people, making notes in great detail. I do not copy others or decorate (with beautiful words) and do not simplify or omit anything. Everything is recorded following my experience, so that we understand human variation, even those whose nature is indeed separate from other people.

維西夷人六種，省志“種人”中皆已志之，然語多附會，事不確實，而奇絕之極者，則皆缺焉．餘目擊博訪，備得詳細，不襲不飾，不略不遺，曆紀之，以知人類之繁，而所性竟有與人殊者．[18]

Yu firstly criticised the production process of ethnographic accounts and images in the provincial gazetteer by pointing out that these copied other accounts, and concluded that their information was inaccurate. By contrast, Yu emphasised his observational experience of *Muji Bofang* 目擊博訪 (eyewitness observation and interviewing a wide range of people), and then he further stressed the ethics of recording, omitting nothing and adding no faked or fanciful information. Yu's narrative thus provides a valuable model for our analysis of the authentication-claims in Miao albums.

The preface to another album in print form, *Qiannan Miaoman Tuce* 黔南苗蠻圖冊 (*Album of Miao Barbarians in Southern Guizhou*),[19] produced by Gui Fu 桂馥, a nineteenth-century government official who worked in Guizhou for more than thirty years, shows several similarities in the narrative presentation of its ethnographic truth-claim. When Gui Fu was asked why he made woodblocks for a Miao album when commercial artists had already done it, he replied:

Xiaoli 白小麗, eds., *Weixi Jianwenji Yanjiu* 維西見聞紀研究 (*Research on Weixi Jianwenji*) (Chengdu: Sichuan Daxue Chubanshe, 2012).

[18] Yu Qingyuan 餘慶遠, "Weixi Jianwenji 維西見聞紀 (Record of Things Heard and Seen in Weixi)," in *Yunnan Shiliao Songkan* 雲南史料叢刊 (*Collected Prints of Historical Sources on Yunnan*), vol.12, ed., Fang Guoyu 方國瑜 (Kunming: Yunnan Daxue Chubanshe, 2001), 59.

[19] Full images and text of *Qiannan Miaoman Tuce* are attached in Li Delong 李德龍, *Qiannan Miaoman Tushuo Yanjiu* 黔南苗蠻圖說研究 (*Research on the Miao Barbarian in Southern Guizhou*) (Beijing: Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Chubanshe, 2008), 147-282.

Those painters in the marketplace, their examination (of ethnic minorities) is not quite precise. The costumes of Luo, Miao, Ge and Zhong are almost the same; the skin colours are applied freely; (I guess) what they depict follows the *Eighty-two Miao Barbarian Poems and Accounts* by Mr. Zhang. Some of them mix Zhong with Miao, Miao with Liao; those who are the same kind, but have two names, are depicted twice, for example in Guzhou, where the Miao, Zhong, Yao and Zhuang rebelled, people in the large fortified villages are called Yetou, while they are called Dongzai in the small fortified villages. These painters wrongly consider Yetou and Dongzhai to be two different categories. In terms of the places they inhabit, most of them are recorded incorrectly. What I have painted here is for the most part based on my direct observations. The work of professional painters cannot compare with mine.

餘曰彼畫工家，考核不精，所作倮苗仡仲各種服飾，大概相同，其膚色皆隨意而施，所畫率本黔人張某所作八十二種苗蠻詩記．其中有仲混為苗者，有苗混為僚者，有一種二名而分畫者，甚至如古州地方苗仲徭僮難處，大寨稱爺頭，小寨名洞崽，竟以爺頭，洞崽偽為二種，所住地方，亦多錯訛．餘今所畫，大都親眼所及，非畫工家所可同語.

Gui Fu firstly claimed that other Miao albums were imprecise and thought they copied the *Bashier Zhong Miaoman Shiji* of Mr. Zhang. Then he pointed out the detailed mistakes in various Miao albums based on Zhang's version and finally he suggested that his album was far more trustworthy than those made by professional painters, because he had seen the ethnic minorities with his own eyes. [20]

The two texts by Yu and Gui share several similarities: 1) claims that previous ethnographic sources or contemporary albums were imprecise and inaccurate; 2) claims that others made their albums by copying; 3) claims that, by contrast, their versions are accurate due to a basis in direct observation and proper recording ethics. These are key conventional models for documenting and establishing a truth-claim for ethnographic works in late Imperial China.

[20] Ibid, 151.

One may assume that these characteristics of ethnographic narratives relate exclusively to late imperial China, especially as they link to or are rationalised by referring to the evidential scholarship developing in the late imperial period.[21] We may also ask whether such observational practices only existed in later imperial ethnography. Are we persuaded that the large number of earlier ethnographic sources were less accurate than the later ones? The following text from the preface to *Yunnan Zhilüe* 雲南志略 (*Brief Account of Yunnan*) by Li Jing 李京 (1251-?) who acted as a military official in Yunnan in the early fourteenth century might invite us to reconsider this.[22] Li claimed that:

> I read *Huanyu Ji* by Le Shi, *Yunnan Zhi* by Fan Chuo, and *Nanzhao Jixing* by Guo Songnian, and I doubted most of their weird and eccentric accounts. In the spring of the fifth year *Dade* [1301], I was appointed to the Pacification Commission for the Wuman. When I arrived in position, rule in Mian [Myanmar] was unsuccessful, the various Man defying commands, and [I] was repeatedly called by the local administration to deal with issues of military supply. These two years, I have been walking through the areas of Wuman, Liuzhao, Jinchi, and Baiyi several times, thus I am rather familiar with the details of landscape, geography, local products and customs. I then began to recognise errors in records by previous people. Probably they obtained their information by hearsay, rather than their own experience. So based on what I saw and consulting other's accounts, I edit and collect the four-volume *Yunnan Zhilüe.*[23]
>
> 蓋嘗覽樂史寰宇記， 樊綽雲南志， 及郭松年南詔紀行， 竊疑多載怪誕不經之說. 大德五年春， 奉命宣慰烏蠻. 比到任， 值緬事無成， 諸蠻拒命， 屢被省檄措辦軍儲事， 烏蠻， 六詔， 金齒， 白夷， 二年之間奔走幾遍. 於是山川地理， 土產， 風俗， 頗得其詳. 始悟前人記載之失， 蓋道聽塗說， 非身所經歷也. 因以所見， 參考眾說， 編集為雲南志略四卷.

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[21] Benjamin Elman, *On their Own Terms: science in China, 1550-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2005), 223-81; *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1984).

[22] Wang Shuwu 王叔武, ed., *Dali Xingji Jiaozhu, Yunnan Zhilüe Jijiao* 大理行記校注, 雲南志略輯校 (*Annotations for Travel in Dali and Brief Account of Yunnan*) (Kunming: Yunnan Minzu Chubanshe, 1986), 53-105.

[23] Li Jing 李京, "Yunnan Zhilüe Zixu 雲南志略自序 (Preface to 'Brief Account of Yunnan')," in *Dali Xingji Jiaozhu, Yunnan Zhilüe Jijiao*, 66.

Much like the aforementioned narrative, Li firstly pointed out the errors and unreliability of previous historical documents, including *Huanyu Ji*, *Yunnan Zhi* and *Nanzhao Jixing*, and emphasised his long-term and frequent encounters with local indigenous groups. According to Li, different results were ascribed to different methods of information collection: previous reports were entirely derived from hearsay, but his was generated through extensive direct observation. Claims of observational practice were not limited to late imperial China, but were made in earlier accounts. Indeed, all of them are conventional models for writing ethnographic narratives.

Turning to the first half of the twentieth century, as the new medium of photography was increasingly utilised to visualise the non-Han populace, imperial ethnography, once self-identified as the most accurate portrayal of ethnic minorities, came to be regarded as unscientific among some anthropologists and historians. For example, the anthropologist Yang Chengzhi 楊成志 (1902-1991), in his research report on Yunnan, claimed that none of the classical ethnographic sources from pre-modern China, including *Shiji* 史記, *Hanshu* 漢書, *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, *Huayang Guozhi* 華陽國志 and local gazetteers, fulfilled the criteria of scientific methodology.[24] Similarly, the eminent historian Fang Guoyu 方國瑜 (1903-1983) in his introduction to the "Zhongren 種人 (ethnic groups)" section in *Daoguang Yunnan Tongzhi* 道光雲南通志 (*Gazetteer of Yunnan Edited During the Daoguang Reign*) also points out, "Regarding the recorded text and illustrations, most were taken from gazetteers, rather than being the result of specific research. The images, produced from the imagination, are thus insufficient as evidence. They could be read, but insufficient as evidence."[25]

Alongside this downgrading of premodern ethnography in the Republican period, photography was gaining credibility as the most scientific tool and medium for accurately visualising ethnic minorities. In his study of the history of photography in the nineteenth century, James Ryan argues that, "to many Victorians, photograph seemed to be a perfect marriage between science and art: a mechanical means of allowing nature to copy herself with total accuracy and intricate exactitude." and "belief in the exactitude of camera that

[24] Yang Chengzhi 楊成志, *Yunnan Minzu Diaocha Baogao* 雲南民族調查報告 (*Research Report on the Nations in Yunnan*) (Guangzhou: Guoli Zhongshan Daxue yuyan Lishixue Yanjiusuo, 1930), 1-2.

[25] Fang Guoyu 方國瑜, ed., *Yunnan Shiliao Congkan,* vol. 13, 244-45.

shaped its uses in the exploration and survey of the peoples and landscapes of distant lands."[26] When photography was introduced to China, the Victorian conceptualisation of photography as reality travelled with it. The following text from an article titled *Sheying de Juyou Zhenshixing* 攝影的具有真實性 (*Photography is Reality*), in a Republican photography journal, best exemplifies the intimate conjunction between photography and reality:

> No one can deny the artistic value of photography's authentic characteristics, which last forever and will not disappear. After the focus, distance and speed are set, just clicking the bottom presses the shutter confidently, then a true image can be obtained of any object. 攝影的具有真實性底藝術價值是無可否斷而永不能泯滅, 從焦點, 距離, 速度組合下後在鏡箱的快門上泰然一按, 便可使任何事物留得真像.
>
> It seems [photography] will inevitably become a common skill which everyone knows. No matter whether at home or travelling, everyone should have a camera… Photography not only has the potential to develop as a new art form, but owing to its authenticity, on any modern-day occasion, the camera is essential. 似乎在近時代裡攝影是必然地成為每個人必然的通常智慧, 無論居家或旅行都該人手一具攝影機……攝影非但可以作為藝術上的一種新的藝術, 而且就是為了她的具有真實性的緣故, 在現時代裡在任何場合下, 是決不能缺少了她. [27]

These texts provide clear evidence that photography, a new art, was viewed as something which could and should be utilised in any respect of any person's daily life, its products viewed as essentially factual, and its technology essential to ethnographic work. In an article by the well-known anthropologist Lin Chunshen 淩純聲 (1901-1981) introducing fieldwork methods, he also listed the camera as one of the researcher's *Zuibu Keshao de Yiqi* 最不可少的儀器 (most essential tools).[28] A research report on an expedition by students and teachers of Daxia University stated:

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[26] James Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 17.

[27] Tang Huoxing 唐火星, "Sheyingde Juyou Zhenshixing 攝影的具有真實性 (Photography Has Reality)," *Feiying* 飛鷹, 7 (1936): 25.

[28] Lin Chunsheng 淩純聲, "Minzuxue Shidi Diaocha Fangfa 民族學實地調查方法 (Field Research Methodology in Ethnology)," *Minzuxue Yanjiu Jikan* 民族學研究集刊, 1 (1936): 45-75 (74-75).

Everyone wears a grass hat on the head and carries a water bottle on the back. Regarding notebook and camera, they are of course the treasures from which none would ever be parted.

我們每個頭上都戴一頂草帽，背上帶著一個水壺，至於筆記本和照相機自是隨身不離的寶貝.[29]

Considered indispensable for research trips by university students, both professionals and amateurs regarded the practice of photography and the camera as essentials, at any time and in any situation, as claimed by Lin in *Feiying*. Similar to the late imperial ethnographers, Republican-era ethnologists and interested outsiders dismissed pre-modern ethnographic practices. Moreover, new tools and the discourse of science were new "weapons" with which to frame the authenticity of their ethnographic research and imagery.

I have shown how the notion of truth was embedded in both late imperial and modern ethnography through textual means. We can trace several narrative techniques for claiming authenticity: emphasising observational practices, employment of new technologies and tools, and criticising previous work. From image to image, both the earlier tributary illustrations and the Miao albums also try to create a visual truth through the language of images. One of the most important changes is the avoidance of animal metaphors: all figures are depicted with human bodies.[30] In both visual and textual phraseology, ethnographic truth was constituted in specific ways, and the next section sheds more light on the different genres of illustrations pertaining to non-Han groups and the role of direct observation in creating visual truth.

Ethnographic illustrations in Chinese history: long tradition, multiple genres and various pictorial practices

[29] Qiu Liqun 裘立群, "Women Shiyi Ge 我們十一個 (We Eleven)," *Guoli Xinan Lianhe Daxue Chuankang Kexue Kaochatuan Zhanlanhui Tekan* 國立西南聯合大學川康科學考察團展覽會特刊, (1942).

[30] On the importance of animal metaphors in representing non-Han subjects, see, Magnus Fiskesjö, "The Animal Other: Re-Naming the Barbarians in 20th-century China," *Social Text*, 109, 4 (2011): 57-79.

The Miao album is one genre of the various illustrations depicting the non-Han subject in imperial China. Physically, the Miao albums from Yunnan and Guizhou generally contain more than eighty and sometimes up to a hundred leaves, bound into single or multiple volumes. Most albums contain both image and text, and some include poems. They depict ethnic minority groups in the southern borderlands, including Guizhou, Yunnan, Hainan and Taiwan.[31] Several scholars have suggested that the genre is exclusively linked to the Qing Empire, but having surveyed museum collections, this thesis suggests that the origins of the Miao album can be traced back at least as far as the Ming era.[32] Their popularity and production continued throughout Qing rule and even to Republican China.[33] In introducing the Miao albums we situate them in the broader context of ethnographic images in Chinese history, briefly examining other genres of ethnographic illustrations and interrogating the processes of, and impetus behind, their production. Since the aforementioned ethnographic sources criticised an absence of direct observation in earlier ethnography or other contemporary works, here there is also a need to explore, in a broad sense, the depiction of non-Han groups across China's long history, in order to demonstrate the persistence of conventional models for framing truth.

China has a long tradition of depicting foreigners and domestic others, and the styles of images representing the non-Han subject are diverse.[34] Among of the most popular and

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[31] Exceptionally, one album, *Lang Shining Hui Yirentu* 郎世寧繪夷人圖 (Illustration of Barbarians Depicted by Lang Shining), held at the Victoria & Albert Museum, includes images of Tibetan subjects.

[32] One Miao album, entitled "*Qiu Shizhou Xiansheng Shanshui Miaojing Renwu Zhenji* 仇十州先生山水苗景人物真蹟 (*The Authentic Work of Mr. Qiu Shizhou on Depictions of the Landscape and Figures of the Miao*)" preserved in the Natural History Museum in New York was attributed to the Ming-era artist Qiu Shizou 仇十州, also named Qiu Ying 仇英 (1494-1552). A handscroll, titled *Mexie Tujuan* 麼些圖卷 (*Scroll of Mexie Illustrations*), preserved in the National Museum of China, is also attributed to a Ming artist from Yunnan, He Jingwen 何景文. A similar compositional style to the Miao albums can also be found in *Wanguo Zhigongtu* 萬國職貢圖 (*Tributary Illustrations of Myriad Countries*) attributed to Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1049-1106) a Song dynasty painter well-known for depicting horse and *baimiao* (ink outline) figures, preserved in the Palace Museum, Taipei. For *Mexie Tujuan*, see Song zhaolin 宋兆麟, "Mexie Tujuan 麼些圖卷 (Scroll of Mexie Illustrations)," in *Zhongguo Guojia Bowuguan Guancang Wenwu Yanjiu Congshu Huihuajuan Fengsuhua* 中國國家博物館館藏文物研究叢書繪畫卷風俗畫 ed., Lu Zhangshen 呂章申(Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2006), 96-107.

[33] On the reproduction of Miao albums in Republican China, see Chapter four.

[34] For some earlier records of ethnographic illustrations, see Wang Yong 王庸, "Shanhaijing Tu and Waiguo Tu 山海經圖與外國圖 (Illustrations of Classics of Mountains and Seas and Illustrations of Foreign Countries),";"Shanhai Jing Tu Yu Zhigong Tu 山海經圖與職貢圖

widely viewed works over the centuries are the images of the *Shanhai Jing* 山海經 (*Classic of Mountains and Seas*), a book compiling knowledge on the exotic animals, peoples, plants, lands and seas of the universe. The sections "Haiwai Nanjing 海外南經 (Classic of [Things] Overseas to the South)", "Haiwai Xijing 海外西經 (West)", "Haiwai Beijing 海外北經 (North)", and "Haiwai Dongjing 海外東經 (East)", recorded the peoples of other countries, describing rather unique physical characteristics, such as headlessness, dog heads, fish bodies, single eyes, single arms, or even having three bodies.[35] It seems that images were prepared after the *Shanhai Jing*'s initial textual composition. A number of illustrations are no longer extant and copies that are preserved were produced during the Ming and Qing eras.[36] Studies of *Shanhai Jing* texts by Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann has suggested that, rather than conveying topographically accurate information, it is an "ideal organisation of terrestrial space characterised by a quite complex, yet remarkably regular structure."[37]

Zhigong Tu 職貢圖 (*Tributary illustration)* is another popular genre, typically depicting scenes of foreigners on their way to, or offering tributes at, Chinese imperial courts, or depicting the male and female figures from other ethnic groups. Such illustrations are pervasive across China's long history, and reflect an imagined world order, namely the tributary system centred on the emperor's person.[38] Current studies mainly focus on the *Imperial Tributary Illustrations* 皇清職貢圖 commissioned by the

(Illustrations of Classics of Mountains and Seas And Tributary Illustrations)," in *Wangyong Wencun* 王庸文存, ed., Zhao Zhongya 趙中亞 (Nanjing: Jiangsu Renmin Chubanshe, 2014), 190-95; 228-32.

[35] Feng Guochao 馮國超, ed*., Shanhai Jing* 山海經 (*Classic of Mountains and Seas*) (Beijing: Huaxia Chubanshe, 2017).

[36] Ma Changyi 馬昌儀, *Guben Shanhaijing Tushuo* 古本山海經圖說 (*Illustrations of Ancient Copies of the Classic of Mountains and Seas*) (Jinan: Shangdong Huabao Chubanshe, 2001). In this book, Ma listed ten copies of Illustrations to *Shanhai Jing* in Ming and Qing dynasties preserved in libraries world-wide.

[37] Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Mapless Mapping: Did the Maps of Shanhai Jing Ever Exist?," in *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China: the Warp and the Weft*, eds., Francesca Bray, Vera Dorofeeva-lichtmann, and Georges Metailie (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 217-94 (218); "Topographical Accuracy or Conceptual Organization of Space? (Some Remarks on the System of Locations found in Shan hai jing)," in *Current Perspectives in the History of Science in East Asia*, eds., Kim Yun-Sik and Francesca Bray (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 1999), 165-79.

[38] Peter Perdue, "The Tenacious Tributary System," *Journal of Contemporary China,* 24, 96 (2015): 1002-14.

Qing Emperor Qianlong (r. 1735-1796) and its copies.[39] Lai Yuzhi's research has illuminated how such styles, depicting one male and one female figure to represent an ethnic group, show European influences.[40]

The tributary illustrations attributed to Yan Liben 閻立本 (601-673), in the collection of the Palace Museum, Taipei, and the Qing-dynasty *Wanguo Laichaotu* 萬國來朝圖 (*Illustration of Myriad Nations Coming to Offer Tributes*) are all scenes that represent ethnic others carrying their local products in homage to the emperor.[41] Taking the *Tributary Illustration* attributed to Yan Liben as an example, this depicts the ambassador and his retinue and a further group of people in more humble dress with rich beards from Southeast Asia, bringing various treasures, including coral, spotted sheep with long horns, glass containers, strange stones, and elephant's tusks.[42]

This imagined and idealised world order structures the tributary illustrations' particular visual grammar. Nevertheless, observation was also involved in their production. A Ming dynasty book on researches of calligraphy and paintings describes how Yan Liben depicted these foreigners:

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[39] Zhuang Jifa 莊吉發, *Xiesui Zhigong Tu Manwen Tushuo Jiaozhu* 謝遂職貢圖滿文圖說校注 (*Annotation for the Tributary Illustration in Manchu Scripts by Xiesui*) (Taipei: Gugong Bowuyuan, 1989); Wei Dong 胃冬," Huangqing Zhigongtu Chuanzhi Shimo 皇清職貢圖創制始末 (The Whole Process of the Making of Qing Imperial Tributary Illustration)," *Zi Jincheng* 紫禁城, 5 (1992): 8-12; "Qianlong Shiqi Huangqing Zhigongtu de Zaici Zengbu 乾隆時期皇清職貢圖的增補 (A Supplement on the Qianlong Tributary Illustration)," *Zi Jincheng*, 6 (1992): 23-38; "Jiaqing shqi Huangqing Zhigongtu de Zaici Zengbu 嘉慶時期皇清職貢圖的再次增補 (A Further Supplement on the Jiaqing Tributary Illustration)," *Zi Jincheng,* 1 (1993):44-46; Qi Qingfu 祁慶富, "*Huangqing Zhigongtu* de Huibian yu Kanke 皇清職貢圖的彙編與刊刻 (The Compile and Print of *Imperial Tributary Illustration*)," *Minzu Yanjiu* 民族研究, 5 (2003): 69-109.

[40] Lai Yuzhi 賴毓芝, "Tuxiang Diguo: Qianlong Chao Zhigongtu de Zhizuo yu Didu Chengxian 圖像帝國: 乾隆朝職貢圖的製作與帝都呈現 (Picturing Empire: Illustrations of "Official Tribute"at the Qianlong Court and the Making of the Imperial Capital), *Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo Jikan* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊, 75 (2012): 1-76.

[41] Lai Yuzhi 賴毓芝, "Gouzhu Lixiang Diguo, 'Zhigong Tu' yu 'Wanguo Laichaotu' de Zhizuo 構築理想帝國, 《職貢圖》與《萬國來朝圖》的製作 (Building an Idealised Empire: The Making of Tributary Illustrations and Illustration of Myriad Nations Coming to Offering Tribute)," *Zi Jincheng* 紫禁城, 10 (2014): 56-69.

[42] Li Lincan suggests that, if this was not an authentic work by Yan, it must at least be a copy of a Tang or Song dynasty painting. See: Li Lincan 李霖燦, "Yan Liben Zhigong Tu 閻立本職貢圖 (The Tributary Illustration of Yan Liben)," in *Zhongguo Minghua Yanjiu* 中國名畫研究 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Daxue Chubanshe, 2014), 1-13.

When 'all-under-heaven' was first pacified, other countries came to the court. It was decreed that Liben paint the foreign people, and this painting was the [result]. ….in total twenty-six countries were depicted, including twenty-eight figures. Their body and appearance was depicted in detail.

時天下初定，異國來朝，詔立本畫外邦人物，此圖是也……計國二十六．為人二十八，具列狀貌. [43]

This text suggests that Yan had the chance to observe the foreigners at court, and it seems that depicting foreigners coming to visit the emperor was among the responsibilities of court artists. The practice of depicting foreigners was institutionalized under the Tang dynasty (618-907). In *Tang Liudian* 唐六典 (*Six Statutes of the Tang*), it is recorded that there were professional institutions such as the *Honglu* 鴻臚 (Court of State Ceremonial) and staff under the *Zhifang Yuanwailang* 職方員外郎 (Vice-Director to the Bureau of Operations) in charge of maps and images of ethnic others:

The Vice-Director to the Bureau of Operations manages the map of this world, and the numbers of cities, garrisons and beacon towers; determining the distance to the capitals of neighbouring countries, and the allegiance of the ethnic minorities (the Four *Yi*)…… When any foreign guests arrive at the Court of State Ceremonial, the [latter] ask about their mountains, rivers, customs and lands, to make a painting for presentation to the emperor for the purpose of attaching their lands to the Empire. Those coming to the court with special customs, they depicted their physical features and clothes to report.

職方員外郎，掌天下之地圖，及城隍，鎮戍，烽堠之數．辨其邦國都鄙之遠邇, 及四夷歸化之事……凡蕃客至鴻臚，訊其國山川風土，為圖奏之，副土于職方，殊俗入朝者，圖其容狀衣服以聞. [44]

The role of the officials outlined above offers us more detailed insights into how tributary illustrations might be made. Knowledge of the landscapes and customs of

[43] Ibid, 2.
[44] Li Linfu 李林甫, *Tang Liudian* 唐六典 (*Six Statutes of the Tang*) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1992), 161-62.

foreign lands was generated through conversation with embassies, whose visits also enabled court artists and other staff to observe their bodies and clothing. The production of tributary illustrations was thus a mixture of both imagination and observation.

In addition to the tributary illustrations depicted by court artists, many others who had opportunities to visit the borderlands, such as military leaders, ambassadors and local officials, also contributed to their depiction. They may have seen non-Han subjects coming to the Chinese frontier markets and interviewed them for information on their customs; they may also have visited lands inhabited by non-Han peoples, in particular if that land came under imperial influence; it was often a conjunction of several approaches.

The preface to the *Zhi Gongtu* 職貢圖 (*Tributary Illustration*) attributed to Xiao Yi 蕭繹 (508-555), a king of Liang, relates that his sources were both the direct observation of those who came to the Chinese market and discussions with ambassadors coming to the capital:

> When the *Hu* people gather from faraway, I open the door hospitably and they kowtow. While walking along Jinmen I observe their features and appearance and enquire after their customs. If anyone comes to the capital to pay their respects from beyond Hannan, I make a special effort to seek them, expanding my knowledge. Therefore this is called *Zhigong Tu*.
>
> 胡人遙集，款開蹶角，沿溯荊門，瞻其容貌，訊其風俗，如有來朝京輦，不涉漢南，別加訪采，以廣聞見．名為職貢圖雲爾．[45]

Similarly, the *Suishu* 隋書 (*Book of Sui*) biography for Pei Ju 裴矩 (547-627), an official who worked for years in the western borderlands, cites his preface to *Xiyu Tuji* 西域圖記 (*Illustrative Records of the Western Regions*), recording how he compiled the work. This describes two ways in which Pei collected information on the non-Han populace: by persuading foreign merchants in the Chinese markets to talk of their customs, and looking for relevant books:

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[45] Xiao Yi 蕭繹, "Zhigongtu Xu 職貢圖序 (preface to the *Tributary Illustration*) ," in *Pianwen Leizuan* 駢文類纂 (*Various Types of Books on Pianwen*), ed., Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (Changchun: Jilin Renmin Chubanshe, 1998), 144. For the dating and attribution of Xiao Yi's *Zhi Gongtu,* see Jin Weinuo 金維諾, "Zhigong Tu de Shiai yu Zuozhe: Duhua Zhaiji 職貢圖的時代與作者: 讀畫劄記 (The Dating and Artist of *Tributary Illustration*: Reading Notes)," *Wenwu* 文物, 7 (1960): 14-17 (14).

Because of my job of keeping the peace, revenue collection, and monitoring the border market, I look for and study (local) books and letters and interview the Hu people; if anything is confused, I then consult a number of people. According to the clothing, adornment and appearance of both kings and commoners of their native realms, all the manifestations of their different bearing and demeanour, I thus depict and describe as the *Xiyu Tuji* 西域圖記 (*Illustrative Record of the Western Regions*). In total there are three volumes, combining forty-four realms. I also made a map, showing their (geographic) importance.

臣既因撫納，監知關市，尋討書傳，訪采胡人，或有所疑，即詳眾口，依其本國服飾儀形，王及庶人，各顯容止，即丹青模寫，為西域圖記，共成三卷，合四十四國．仍別造地圖，窮其要害．[46]

This knowledge of the customs of the ethnic others thus also reportedly came from the interviews with merchants and other visitors to the border markets. At times, some ethnographic illustrations were made during field visits by local government officials or specifically appointed officials. For example, the historical accounts of the Anxi 安西 Protectorate 都護府 in the *Tang Huiyao* 唐會要 (*Political Accounts of Tang*) wrote that, after pacifying the 'Western Regions' (an area extending west through, and sometimes beyond, present-day Xinjiang), ambassadors were send to depict the images of the countries there:

When the Western Regions had been pacified, ambassadors were sent to the Kang and Tocharian realms, learning about their customs and products, and the abolished and newly established (cities), producing illustrations for presentation to the emperor. Therefore the historiographical office was ordered to compile the *Xiyu Tuji* (*Illustrations and Texts on the Western Regions*) in sixty volumes.[47]

西域既平，譴使分往康國及吐火羅國訪其風俗物產，及古今廢置，畫圖以進．因令史官撰西域圖志六十卷.

[46] Wei Zheng 魏征, *Suishu* 隋書 (*Book of Sui*) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1973), vol. 67, 1579.
[47] Wang Bo 王溥, *Tang Huiyao* 唐會要 (*Political Accounts of Tang*) (Zhongguo Jiben Gujiku 中國基本古籍庫 Online Catalogue of Basic Classics of China), vol. 73, 837.

When rule was extended over new regions, government officials would be appointed to investigate these areas and make illustrations. For example, the thirteenth-century encyclopaedia *Yuhai* 玉海 (*Jade Ocean*) contains an account of the production process for the tenth-century map *Haiwai Zhuyu Tu* 海外諸域圖 (*Map of the Various Overseas Areas*),

> The *Man* of the four Chenzhou prefectures Yanxi, Jin, Xu, and Fu requested subordination and to pay revenues. It was decreed that prefectural officers investigate whether the customs of Yao were (true) or false. They also need to investigate the mountains and rivers and meticulously make illustrations for presentation.
>
> 辰州言溪, 錦, 敘, 富等四州蠻求內附, 輸租稅. 詔令州長吏查其謠俗情偽, 並按視山川地形具圖來上. [48]

Since the majority of the ethnographic images referred to here are no longer extant, their styles are uncertain - were they similar to the tributary illustrations by Yan Liben, individual figures like the painting attributed to Xiao Yi, or more like the Miao albums, depicting daily activities of groups in the landscape? This uncertainty notwithstanding, the accounts are valuable evidence for the making of ethnographic images in China.

Using some of the most popular genres of ethnographic illustrations across China's long history, I have shown here various spaces where observational practices could be performed: the court, the border markets and the regions inhabited by non-Han groups. Ambassadors sending gifts to the emperor, merchants coming to the market, diplomats, local government officials, and court artists, all contributed to knowledge production on customs and the depiction of the body and physical characteristics of ethnic others. The experience of and opportunity for firsthand observation is core to the creation of visual reality. The narrative discussed in the last section criticizing previous ethnographic works as entirely based on imagination and copying is thus a convention adopted by writers of ethnographic works in imperial China.

Ways of seeing: a visual grammar of gender and the power of representation

[48] Wang Yinglin 王應麟, *Yuhai* 玉海 (*Jade Ocean*) (online Catalogue of Basic Classics of China), vol.16, 327.

In his theoretical study of representation, David Summers suggests three useful terms in addressing representation: "a thing", "actual image" and "mental image". To move from a thing to an actual image requires translation via a mental image, which is likened to a work of art made by the mind. We must carefully differentiate between these when analysing images.[49] Art critics such as Craig Owen also remind us that the study of representation should look beyond imitation; it is more interesting and significant to reveal the ideology concealed behind the actual image.[50] In this context, when we deal with Miao albums, we have to ask which "mental images" and "concealed ideology" lie therein.

The role of representation in the depiction of Miao albums is indeed remarkable. Scrutinising various album versions by a number of different artists, astonishingly, rather than differences, I came to recognise how many aspects they share, in particular ways of visualising the non-Han subject, which are systematic and standardized. All, for example, manifest great interest in ethnic minorities' attire and whether or not they wear shoes; their food, whether cooked, raw, eaten from containers or eaten on tables; their sexuality, whether they apply sexual restrictions to widows and virgins; their bodies, whether clean or dirty, tattooed or natural; their dispositions, whether brutal or timid; and occupations, whether farming, weaving or hunting. All of these concerns; costume, food, bodies, sexuality, occupation, and emotion, are actually reflections of the culture and hierarchy constructed among their Han Chinese observers. These Han virtues and rites are the mental images and the concealed ideology inherent in the albums' production.

The reflection of Han cultural concerns is evident in the use of negative sentences in a number of ethnographic texts, such as Qing local gazetteers from Yunnan. *Jingdong Tingzhi* 景東廳志 (*Local Gazetteer for Jingdong*), records that the Bai Luoluo 白羅羅, "when they are sick, (they) do not take medicine, and only know to sacrifice to the spirits 病不服藥, 惟知祭鬼."[51] The Gan Luoluo 幹羅羅, we are informed in *Xuanwei Zhouzhi* 宣

[49] David Summers, "Representation," in *Critical Terms for Art History*, eds., Robert Nelson and Richard Shiff (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 3.
[50] Craig Owens, *Beyond Recognition: Representation, Power, and Culture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 99.
[51] "*Jingdong Tingzhi* 景東廳志 (Local Gazetter for Jingdong)," in *Daoguang Yunnan tongzhi* 道光雲南通志, in *Yunnan Shiliao Congkan*, vol. 13, 344-395 (350).

威州志 (*Local Gazetteer for Xuanwei*), "do not know how to clean the face, and do not wear shoes on their feet 不知洗面，腳不著履."[52] In *Kaihua Fuzhi* 開化府志 (*Local Gazetteer for Kaihua*), the Heiniu Muji 黑牛母雞 people, "do not use match-makers for marriage, but use oxen as betrothal gifts, up to five or six head. They do not use coffins for funerals; regardless of whom, all are buried in the mountains (head towards the east, and feet towards the west) 婚不用媒, 財禮以牛, 多至五六隻. 喪不用棺, 無論山坡, 俱橫葬."[53]

These descriptions of customs are produced in light of Han Chinese cultural norms. Because the Han Chinese were expected to take medicine and not resort to shamans or religious healers, to clean their faces, wear shoes, and use match-makers and coffins (even though many did not), negative versions of these patterns yielded a narrative repertoire of non-Han behaviour. This thus presents a normative as much as a descriptive shadow-image of how Han people should behave.

An equally interesting aspect to note is that ethnic minority women were compared with Han women. Yang Chengzhi 楊成志 (1902-1991), an anthropologist working at Zhongshan University in Guangzhou, visited Yunnan several times for his field research on the Luoluo, and he claims "In general, no matter whether men or women, they are all lively and active. This is unlike the Han, who are bound by the rites of 'eating people'[54] 大概說來, 無論男女都是活潑潑地, 不受像漢人那種吃人的禮教來束縛的."[55] Moreover, in an article introducing the Miao, an author writing under the pseudonym Chao 超 also states that "When they deliver an infant, it is not like our Han women who need to hide in a room away from the wind 她倘當生產的時候, 不像我們漢人的女子, 要在房中避風."[56] Both of these negative sentences were used to compare Han Chinese women with ethnic minorities and to the advantage of the latter, which also suggest they were representations by Han male intellectuals expressing May Fourth Movement critiques

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[52] *"Xuanwei Zhouzhi* 宣威州志 (Local Gazetteer for Xuanwei)," in *Yunnan Shiliao Congkan,* vol. 13, 352.

[53] "*Kaihua Fuzhi* 開化府志 (Local Gazetteer for Kaihua)," in *Yunnan Shiliao Congkan* , vol. 13, 367.

[54] The metaphor of premodern China as a society of 'people who eat people' is an allusion to Lu Xun's *Kuangren Riji* 狂人日記 (*Diary of a Crazy Man*).

[55] Yang Chengzhi 楊成志 "Yunnan Minzu Diaocha Bagao 雲南民族調查報告 (Research Report on the Peoples of Yunnan)," *Guoli Zhongshan Daxue Lishixue Yanjiusuo Zhoukan* 國立中山大學語言歷史學研究所週刊, 11, 129/130/131/132 (1930): 1-173 (31).

[56] Chao 超, "Guizhou Miaozu Zhuangkuang 貴州苗族狀況 (The Situation of the Miao People in Guizhou)," *Zhonghua (Shanghai)* 中華 (上海), 92 (1940): 19-20 (20).

that stigmatised what had become viewed as backward and oppressive practices and institutions in Han society.

The analysis of the representation model of the Miao albums echoes several works concerning the representation of Non-Han subjects in China. Marc Abramson's examination of non-Han imagery in the Tang era suggests that subjects were largely defined by educated elites working within a tradition heavily defined by the Confucian canon.[57] Non-Han groups were represented through four typical characteristics: only being trustworthy and loyal in exceptional circumstances and that loyalty often being predicated upon a hope of immediate gain; lacking self-control; lacking education; and finally being irrational but active, as opposed to the Han, who were considered rational but passive.[58] Irene Leung, in her study of the Northern Song *Fanzuhua* 番族畫 (*Paintings of the Barbarian Peoples*) reveals that what seems on the surface to be an ethnographic interest in the frontier is in fact the representation of a 'backward' fringe.[59] The actual frontier was never directly addressed, instead, a number of symbols such as camels, sandy grass, chilly winds, falcons, hunting hounds, felt yurts, border geese, fur pouches, knives and arrows, and an encampment, persisted as iconic representations of the borderland.[60] Parallel to their devotion to the artistic representation of non-Han subjects and their landscape in the borderland in Song dynasty and foreign merchants in the north under the Tang, this thesis addresses the visual representation of non-Han people in China's southwestern borderlands at a time of great proliferation in the market for visual

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[57] Marc Abramson, *Ethnic Identity in Tang China* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 51.

[58] Marc Abramson, "Deep Eyes and High Noses: Physiognomy and the Depiction of Barbarians in Tang China," in *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries, and Human Geographies in Chinese History* eds., Nicola Di Cosmo and Don, J. Wyatt (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 119–59. For their representation in the modern period, see Susan Blum, *Portraits of "Primitives": Ordering Human Kinds in the Chinese Nation* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001). Yang Li, "Ethnic Tourism and Cultural Representation," *Annals of Tourism Research* 38, 2 (2011): 561-85; Jing Li, "The Making of Ethnic Yunnan on the National Mall," *Modern China*, 39, 1 (2013): 69-100.

[59] Irene Leung "The Frontier Imaginary in the Song Dynasty: Revisting Cai Yan's 'Barbarian Captivity' and Return," (Ph,D. Diss., University of Michigan, 2001); Irene leung, '"Felt Yurts Neatly Arrayed, Large Tents Huddle Close': Visualizing the Frontier in Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127)," in *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries, and Human Geographies in Chinese History*, eds., Nicola Di Cosmo (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 192–219.

[60] Ibid, 204

representation. The Miao albums both inherited conventions from former non-Han imagery and manifest the popularisation and refashioning of imperial visual coding.

In a broad sense, as uncovered by Francesca Bray in her monograph of addressing technical illustrations, there are no systematic attempts to improve the accuracy of observation or effectiveness of imaging in Chinese traditions of technical representation through book illustration.[61] Late imperial officials saw the potential of these images as tools for maintaining norms.[62] Focusing on *Gengzhitu,* Bray further points out that, while historians of technology have usually presumed *Gengzhitu* was originally designed to provide advanced technical knowledge that could be used to improve agricultural and textile practices, the images were more likely an iconic and symbolic blueprint for daily life in the empire.[63] Roslyn Hammers has also elaborated in detail the multiple levels at which the *Gengzhitu* gives visual and poetic expression to imperial values.[64] As we have seen, Dorofeeva-Lichtmann likewise identifies the *Shanhai Jing* as an expression of an idealised world order.[65] In his studies of the history of the map, Richard Smith also stresses the cartographic expression and reinforcement of a tributary-based perspective on Sino-foreign relations. [66] In her study of knowledge and technology in seventeenth-century China*,* Dagmar Schäfer also illuminates the moral regulations and ritual discussions among Ming scholar-officials over craft production.[67] My study of Miao albums makes similar connections between symbolic connotations, sets of Han Chinese moral regulations and rites, and the production of ethnographic images.

In the same vein, such theories of representation and conventions have been considered in studies of photography; several works have emphasised the complexity of photographic practice. John Tagg, for example, in *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*, claims that the nature of photography as a practice depends

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[61] Francesca Bray, "Introduction," in *Graphics and Text*, 1-78 (70).
[62] Ibid, 72.
[63] Bray, "Agricultural Illustrations: Blueprint or Icon?" in *Graphics and Text,* 521-68.
[64] Roslyn Hammers, *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving: Art, Labor and Technology in Song and Yuan China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Pres, 2011).
[65] Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Topographical Accuracy or Conceptual Organization of Space?," 165-79.
[66] Richard Smith, *Mapping China and Mapping the World: Culture, Cartography and Cosmology in Late Imperial Times* (London: Routledge, 2013), 85.
[67] Dagmar Schäfer, *The Crafting of the 10,000 things: Knowledge and Technology in Seventeenth-Century China* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 13.

on the agents and institutions which set it to work.[68] James Ryan sees the nineteenth-century photograph as an expression of knowledge and power that shaped the reality of empire.[69] In the case of China, several scholars have analysed photography from the perspective of representation, contesting how "real" its visualisation of the local could be. For example, Wu Hung has examined photographs taken by Milton Miller, praised for representing the 'inner character' through his portraits of Chinese officials and business-people, and argues that the wearing of multiple costumes by the same models shows that such styles were invented by foreigners for a global audience.[70] Sarah Fraser also reveals the colonial invention, between 1860 and 1900, of a generic photography of "China", dominated by suffering, starvation, rebellion and death, and populated by coolies and refugees.[71] Influenced by the ontological demarcations of "mechanica" and the human by Bruno Latour, James Hevia came up with the concept of "photography complex" which, stressing the agents behind the cameras, is particularly illuminating for our study of the photography of non-Han subjects.[72] Bearing these in mind, the analysis of the Republican-era photographic representation of non-Han peoples in southwestern China in this thesis investigates the development of ethnographic photography as a specific "type".

Conceptualising and theorising this thesis within ideas of representation, including concealed ideology and associated agents and institutions, we use the term "visual grammar" to describe the conventions, system, and structure concealed behind the Miao albums and ethnographic photography. The idea of the "visual grammar" benefits from the work of art critics. The influential work *Ways of Seeing* by John Berger illuminates how the way we see things is affected by what we know or believe. When we see, we are not

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[68] John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1988).

[69] James Ryan*, Picturing Empire*, 18-20.

[70] Wu Hung, "Inventing a 'Chinese' Portrait Style in Early Photography: The Case of Milton Miller," in *Brushes and Shutter, Early Photography in China*, eds., Frances Terpak and Jeff Cody (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2011), 69-87.

[71] Sarah Fraser, "Antiquarianism or Primitivism?: the Edge of History in the Modern Chinese Imagination." In *Reinventing the Past: Antiquarianism in East Asian Art and Visual Culture*, ed., Wu Hung (London: Art Media Resource, 2010), 342-67. "Chinese as Subjects: Photographic genres in the Nineteenth Century," in *Brushes and Shutter*, 91-106; Sarah Fraser, "The Face of China: Photography's role in shaping images, 1860-1920," *Getty Research Journal,* 2 (2010): 39-52.

[72] James Hevia, "The Photography Complex: Exposing Boxer-Era China (1900-1901)," in *Empire of Visions*: *a Reader*, ed., Sumathi Ramaswamy (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 283-314.

just looking, but reading the language of image.[73] Through word and image, what we see is always influenced by a whole host of assumptions concerning the nature of beauty, truth, civilization, form, taste, class and gender. Berger's argument suggests that, in order to penetrate how people in late imperial or Republican China would view Miao albums and ethnographic photography, we have to consider the Han Chinese cultural system constructing their production and reception.

According to W. J. T. Mitchell, the "language of images," refers to three categories of things:

> (1) language about images, the words we used to talk about pictures, sculptures, designs and abstract spaticial patterns in the world, in art, and in mind; the interpretive discourse a culture regards as appropriate to its image systems; (2) images regarded as a language, the semantic, syntactic, communicative power of images to encode messages, tell stories, express ideas and emotions, raise questions, and "speak" to us; (3) verbal language as a system informed by images, literally in the graphic character of writing systems or "visible language," figuratively in the penetration of verbal languages and metalanguages by concerns for patterning, presentation, and representation.[74]

This thesis considers all of these three layers of the language of images suggested by Mitchell, uncovering the language used to describe Miao albums and photographs; the ideas conveyed through images; and the ideological systems constituted by images. My study of Chinese imperial images thus also investigates textual sources, which are very helpful for understanding the conventions behind images. On some occasions, however, the image does not reflect the word, exaggerating or contradicting textual content. Thus this thesis also considers the subtle correlations of image and text, demonstrating and interrogating the relative amounts of energy generated from each aspect.

Empire and Image: engendering the ethnic minorities in China's southwest borderland

[73] John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin Books, 2008), 8.
[74] W. J. T. Mitchell, "Introduction: The Language of Images," in *The Language of Images,* ed., W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago: The university of Chicago Press, 1980), 3.

Examining the ways in which subjects are represented is insufficient; consideration of the complexity of institutions and agents commissioning the work is equally important. To analyse the visual grammar and ways of representing ethnic minorities is also to examine imperial expansion. This echoes Mitchell's advocacy of the "pictorial turn", a post-linguistic, post-semiotic rediscovery of the picture as a complex interplay between visuality, apparatus, institutions, discourse, bodies, and figurality.[75] Through the study of ethnographic visual sources, we can illuminate the mutual implication of empire and images and their reciprocal constitution; how imperial images were commercialised and popularised, and how they entertained. Since the 1980s, a growing number of works have considered the nexus of imagery and European imperialism.[76] One of the most important of these, interrogates the range of pictorial practices, image-making technologies, and vision-oriented subjectivities that have been cultivated, desired and dispersed within the contexts of modern imperial formation and decolonisation.[77]

Gender is the analytical prism through which I examine the mutual implications and reciprocal constitutions of empire and regimes of visuality in the southwest of China. Several scholars have called attention to the important role of gender in studies of imperialism. For example, Philippa Levine claims "the building of empires themselves cannot be understood without employing a gendered perspective."[78] Earlier, the integral role of gender in colonial regimes and the discourses that constituted imperial knowledge were also emphasised in the Oxford history series of studies of British Empire.[79] This thesis demonstrates how a spectrum of gendered values, relating to masculinity,

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[75] W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 16.

[76] Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," in *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth Century Art and Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 33-60; James Thompson, *The East: Imagined, Experienced, Remembered: Orientalist Nineteenth Century Painting* (Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland, 1988); Mary Roberts and Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones ,"Introduction: Visualising Culture across the Edges of Empires," in *Edges of Empire: Orientalism and Visual Culture,* eds., Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones and Mary Roberts (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 1-19; Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts, eds., *Orientalism's Interlocutors Painting, Architecture, Photography* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002).

[77] Sumathi Ramaswamy, "Introduction: The Work of Vision in the Age of European Empires," in *Empires of Vison,* 1-43.

[78] Philippa Levine, "Introduction: Why Gender and Empire?," in *Gender and Empire,* ed., Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1-14 (1).

[79] Rosalind O'Hanlon, "Gender in the British Empire," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire Vol. IV: The Twentieth Century*, ed., Alaine Low (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 380-97.

femininity, sexuality and women's bodies and clothing and embedded among Han communities, contribute to constructing China's imperial and visual regimes with regard to the southwestern borderlands. To put it in another way, I examine how gender, an invisible hand, works to translate the lives of ethnic minorities into papers and photographs and how the imperial visual order was created through the power of gender. Investigating the imagery of China's southwest borderland thus adds a further avenue for exploring gender's intersection with empire and extends our understanding of imperial engagements with gender.

There are a number of other works relevant to aspects of this thesis; rather than discussing them here, these are reviewed at the start of the chapter to which they pertain. As the making of Miao albums is inseparable from imperial policies of military and administrative control over the southwest borderlands under the Ming and Qing dynasties, the following section sheds more light on the political contexts of imperial expansion. In the light of the proliferation of photography of non-Han subjects in the 1930s and 1940s and its intimate association with the second Sino-Japanese war, we then turn to provide further background on military, political and anthropological developments in Republican-era China.

Imperial context: Native Chieftain system, Gaitu Guiliu and Miao rebellions

The integration of the southwest borderland into the map of China was a centuries-long process. As Bin Yang has shown in a world-historical context, China's far southwestern Yunnan region was, slowly, from the third century through to the 1950s, transformed from a distinct and independent cultural and administrative entity into a Chinese frontier province.[80] As early as the 1970s and 1980s, several scholars began to investigate the process of Qing imperial expansion in the south from military, administration and imperial policy perspectives.[81] After exterminating the Wu Sangui rebellion (1673-1681),

[80] Bin Yang, *Between Winds and Clouds: The Making of Yunnan (Second Century BCE to Twentieth Century CE)* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 2; 25-29.

[81] Kent Smith, *Ch'ing Policy and the Development of Southwest China: Aspects of Ortai's Governor-Generalship, 1726-31* (Ph.D. Diss., Yale University, 1970); Charles Fitzgerald, *The Southward Expansion of the Chinese People* (New York: Praeger, 1972); Joseph Esherick, "How the Qing Become China," in *Empire to Nation: Historical Perspectives on the Making of Modern World*, eds., Joseph Esherick, Hasan Kayali, and Eric Van Young (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1986), 229-59.

Qing Emperors constructed military strongholds in Yunnan and appointed high civil officials as provincial governors.[82] The Qing military engagement in the southwest is best exemplified by a genre of illustrations and prints depicting the Miao wars and celebrating the successful suppression of Miao revolts, such as the woodblock print of *Pingmiao Tuce* 平苗圖冊 and the lithograph of *Pingding Miaojiang Deshengtu* 平定苗疆得勝圖 and *Pingding Lianginchuan Deshengtu* 平定兩金川得勝圖 in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing.[83] Among their studies of the Miao rebellions, Donald Sutton and other scholars have suggested that conflicts with the settlers in the eighteenth century were mainly due to the Miao losing much of their better land to Han immigrants with better technical resources.[84]

Although often holding Han-centric points of view, several scholars have shed light on the influence of immigrants in integrating the borderlands. James Lee has revealed how Han Chinese migration to the southwest in the late imperial period transformed the borderland substantially as the population increased and the economy of the southwest developed.[85] From the 1980s, scholars also began to identify the commercial activities,

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[82] Yingcong Dai, *The Rise of the Southwestern Frontier under the Qing, 1640-1800* (Ph.D. Diss., University of Washington, 1996), 86-101.

[83] Mo Xiaoye 莫小也, "Tongban Zuhua *Pingding Miaojiang Zhantu Chutan* 銅版組畫《平定苗疆戰圖》初探 (Preliminary Research on Copperplate Prints of *Pacifying the Miao Boundary*)," *Gugong Bowuyuan Yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊, 3 (2006): 52-64; Gugong Bowuyuan 故宮博物院, ed., *Qingshi Tudian* 清史圖典 (*Illustrations for the History of Qing*), vol. 8 (Beijing: Zijincheng Chubanshe 2002), 64-84; Weng Lianxi 翁連溪, *Qingdai Gongting Banhua* 清代宮廷版畫 (*Court Prints of the Qing Dynasty*) (Beijing: Zijincheng Chubanshe, 2006), 116-18.

[84] Donald Sutton, "Ethnicity and the Miao Frontier in the Eighteenth Century," in *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Ethnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China*, eds., Pamela Crossley, Helen Siu and Donald Sutton (Berkerley: University of California Press), 190-228; Donald Sutton, "Ethnic Revolt in the Qing Empire: The "Miao Uprising" of 1795-1797 Reexamined," *Asia Major*, 16, 2 (2003): 105-52. Ma Shaoqiao 馬少僑, *Qingdai Miaomin Qiyi* 清代苗民起義 (*Miao Revolts in Qing Dynasty*) (Wuchang: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1956), 34-8; Daniel McMahon, "Identity and Conflict on a Chinese Borderland: Yan Ruyi and the Recruitment of the Gelao During the 1795-97 Miao Revolt," *Late Imperial China*, 23, 2 (2002): 53-86.

[85] James Lee, *The Political Economy of a Frontier: Southwest China, 1250-1850* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); "Food Supply and Population Growth in Southwest China, 1250-1850."*Journal of Asian Studies* 41, 4 (1982): 711-46; "The Legacy of Immigration to Southwest China, 1250-1850," *Annales de Demographie Historique* (1982): 279-304; "Ming Qing shiqi Zhongguo Xinan de Jingji fazhan he Renkou Zengzhang 明清時期中國西南的經濟發展和人口增長 (The Economic Development and Population Growth in the Southwest of China in the Ming and Qing Dynasties)," *Qingshi Luncong* 清史論叢, 5 (1984): 50-102.

such as trade, mining and moneylending, conducted in Yunnan by merchants from northern and coastal provinces as the regional economy developed during its gradual integration into the Qing empire.[86] From the perspective of education, in particular the efforts of the great scholar Chen Hongmou in eighteenth-century Yunnan, William Rowe has also examined the Confucian enlightenment blueprint and efforts of the empire to extend this to the borderland peoples.[87]

Regarding administration, the Ming and Qing courts gradually strengthened their direct bureaucratic control over the southwest. The Native Chieftain System (*tusi zhidu* 土司制度), examined by John Herman, was a sub-bureaucratic institution launched during the early Ming, appointing local tribal leaders as government officials to help rule the non-Han territory beyond Beijing's administrative reach.[88] Native chieftains, classified as either civilian (*tuguan* 土官) or military (*tusi* 土司) would often be appointed a Chinese official, usually as a secretary, archivist, translator, or sheriff, to assist in the management of relations with the state. Military native chieftains, who enjoyed a higher degree of institutional and spatial autonomy from China, were expected to command a sizable military force in order to assist in border protection.[89] During the reign of Emperor Yongzheng (1723-1735), the native chieftain system was criticized as problematic and inefficient, so the court strove to apply the policy known as *Gaitu guiliu*

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[86] Lin Wenxun 林文勳, "Mingqing Shiqi Neidi Shangren zai Yunnan de Jinji Huodong 明清時期內地商人在雲南的經濟活動 (The Economic Activities of Merchants from Inner Parts of China in Yunnan in the Ming and Qing Dynasties)," *Yunnan Shehui Kexue* 雲南社會科學, 1 (1991): 59-64. Fang Tie 方鐵 and Fang Hui 方慧, *Zhongguo Xinan Bianjiang Kaifa Shi* 中國西南邊疆開發史 (*The History of Opening the Southwest Boundary of China*) (Kunming: Yunnan Renmin Chubanshe, 1997), 419. Yang Yucai 楊毓才, *Yunnan Ge Minzu Jinji Fazhanshi* 雲南各民族經濟發展史 (*The History of Economic Development Among the Peoples of Yunnan*) (Kunming: Yunnan Minzu Chubanshe, 1989), 267-310.

[87] William Rowe, "Education and Empire in Southwest China: Ch'en Hong-mou in Yunnan, 1733-1738," in *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900*, ed., Benjamin Elman and Alexander Woodside (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 417-57; William Rowe, *Saving the World: Chen Hongmou and Elite Consciousness in Eighteenth-century China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001).

[88] John Herman, "The Cant of Conquest: Tusi Offices and China's Political Incorporation of the Southwest Frontier," in *Empire at the Margins*, 135-68 (136-37).

[89] John Herman, "Empire in the Southwest: Early Qing Reforms to the Native Chieftain System," *The Journal of Asian Studies,* 56, 1 (1997): 50-2; John Hermann, *Amid the Clouds and Mist: China's Colonization of Guizhou, 1200-1700* (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), 103-5.

改土歸流, abolishing native chieftainships and extending direct bureaucratic control over formerly autonomous frontier areas.[90]

However, this is not to suggest that change in the borderland was a one-sided process of sinicisation; it is crucial to recognise that, as Patterson Giersch has demonstrated, this was negotiated by both the Chinese and the peoples of the borderland.[91] Drawing attention to the fluid and creative nature of China's peripheries, he asserts that the borderland was an area of freewheeling economic exchange, cultural interaction, and flexible identity. From time to time, as James Scott has shown, borderland peoples were not willing to be integrated, but might instead choose to move to the highlands.[92] Since Miao album images were made by the colonisers and for people within the empire, it is important to link them to this political context of imperial expansion, but we must avoid simplifying boundary history into a one-way process.

Wartime China: the reproduction of borderland images

The second Sino-Japanese War played an important role in the reproduction of ethnographic images of the southwestern non-Han peoples. The proliferation of ethnographic illustrations of southwest China in the late imperial period was matched by the wartime boom in photography of non-Han subjects by the anthropologists, professional photographers, tourists, intellectuals and students who moved to the southwest with their universities and other institutions as part of a general move away from the conflict. Soon after the clash at the Marco Polo Bridge On July 7 1937, Beijing, Tianjin, Taiyuan, Hangzhou, Shanghai, and Nanjing were occupied by the Japanese army. On 30th of October, the Chinese government announced the removal of its capital to Chongqing in Sichuan Province and some government agencies established temporary offices in Wuhan, in Hubei.[93] Additionally, people, schools and factories were also

[90] Herman, *Empire in the Southwest*, 47-50; For the reasons behind emperor Yongzheng's tough policies towards the boundaries, also see: John Herman, "Collaboration and Resistance on the Southwest Frontier: Early Eighteenth-Century Qing Expansion on Two Fronts," *Late Imperial China,* 35, 1 (2014): 77-112.

[91] Giersch, *Asian Borderlands,* 207-23.

[92] James Scott, *The Art of not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2009).

[93] Hans Van De Ven and Edward J Drea , "Chronology of the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945," in *The Battle for China: Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945* , eds.,

removed from the coastal areas to the interior.[94] Since the early twentieth century, the southwest had been ruled by a number of warlords who operated with relative independence.[95] When the capital moved west, Jiang Jieshi (also known as Chiang Kai-shek) tried to bring the southwest under his control by negotiating with warlords like Hu Hanmin and Long Yun.[96] Meanwhile, the Republican government also designed and carried out several national minority policies to assimilate and dominate the non-Han in the southwest through administration, economic policy and education, although these policies were often inefficient in practice.[97]

The influence of the second Sino-Japanese war on the orientation of Chinese anthropology is best exemplified in one article by the Harvard-trained anthropologist Lin Yaohua 林耀華 (1910-2000) recalling his anthropology career. He explained why his research turned from Han communities in the south to ethnic minorities in the southwest:

> When talking of why I changed my research from the family and society of Chinese Han people to research on the ethnic minorities, I cannot avoid the Japanese invasion which wrought such a damaging influence on Chinese society and the course of scientific progress… …It was truly this war which turned me, a sociologist, studying the society of Han people, into a researcher in ethnology studying ethnic minorities.

Mark R. Peattie, Edward J Drea and Hans J Van de Ven (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011), 7-26.

[94] Lloyd Eastman, "Nationalist China during the Nanking Decades 1927–1937," in *The Cambridge history of China. Vol. 13, Republican China, 1912-1949. Part 2,* eds., John Fairbank and Albert Feuerwerker (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 116-167.

[95] Donald Sutton, *Provincial Militarism and the Chinese Republic: the Yunnan Army, 1905-25* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1980). 1-12.

[96] Luo Min 羅敏, *Zouxiang Tongyi: Xinan yu Zhongyang Guanxi Yanjiu 1931-1936* 走向統一: 西南與中央關係研究 1931-1936 (*Moving towards the Union: Research on the Relationships between the Southwest and the State from 1931 to 1936*) (Beijing: Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe, 2014), 161-66; 184-92.

[97] David Deal, "Policy Towards Ethnic Minorities in Southwest China, 1927-1965," in *Nationalism and the Crisis of Ethnic Minorities in Asia*, ed., Tai Kang (London: Greenwood Press, 1979), 33-40; David Deal, *National Minority Policy in Southwest China, 1911-1965* (Ph.D. Diss.: University of Washington, 1971), 34-70.

要講我從中國漢人家族的社會研究轉向對少數民族的研究的緣起, 就不能不先講日本侵略給中國社會和學術進程造成的破壞性影響…正是這場戰爭把我從一個研究漢人社會的社會人類學者變成了主要研究少數民族的民族學者. [98]

Lin's life experience suggests the tremendous impact of the invasion on approaches to anthropology in China. Several scholars ascribed their research among the ethnic minorities in the southwest to their removal, along with their institutions and students, to the interior. For example, Academia Sinica moved to Changsha in 1937, then Kunming in the following year. Two years later, in 1940, it moved to Lizhuang, in southern Sichuan.[99]

Furthermore, in several articles, other anthropologists, including Wu Wenzao 吳文藻 (1901-1985), Xu Yitang 徐益棠 (1896-1953) and Ma Changshou 馬長壽 (1907-1971), associated the emerging need to develop anthropology with the boundary crisis.[100] Wu Wenzao and Ma Changshou pointed out that anthropology was instrumental to a country's colonisation enterprise:

In recent years, numerous countries have come to value the status of anthropology to colonial research, establishing anthropology specialists in the colonizing government, and the committee of United Nations has also considered the new perspectives of anthropology, advocating open colonising policies, all of which suggests that anthropology has moved to the practical stage. China should thus catch up with them immediately, causing anthropological research to make parallel progress in both theory and function. Based on the study of borderland politics, (we

[98] Lin Yaohua 林耀華, "Liangshan Yijia yu Shaoshu Minzu Kaocha 涼山彝家與少數民族考察 (The Yi in Cold Mountains and the Survey on Ethnic Minorities)," in *Lin Yaohua Xueshu* 林耀華學述, ed., Lin Yaohua (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe, 1999), 57-96 (3).
[99] Wang Mingke 王明珂, *Fuqing Nachang Yongbu Zhixi de Zhanzheng* 父親那場永不止息的戰爭 (*The Never Stopped War of My Father*) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe, 2012), 53.
[100] Xu Yitang 徐益棠, "Shinian Lai Zhongguo Bianjiang Minzu Yanjiu Zhi Huifu Yu Qianzhan: Wei Bianzheng Gonglun Chuban Ji Zhongguo Minzu Xuehui Qi zhounian Jinian Erzuo 十年來中國邊疆民族研究之回顧與前瞻---為邊政公論出版及中國民族學會七周年紀念而作 (Review on the Research of the Nations on the Boundary of China in the past Ten Years: Writing to Commemorate the Publication of Public Discussion of Boundary Politics and the Seventh Year of Chinese Association of Ethnology)," *Bianzheng Gonglun* 邊政公論, 1, 5-6 (1942): 54-62.

could) lay the foundations for a new governance of borders, and provide support to the implementation of new boundary politics.

近年來兩洋各國之重視人類學在殖民科學研究上的地位，殖民地政府之有人類學專員的設置，以及國聯委任統治委員會之採取人類學新觀點，公然主張開明的殖民政策，都足以表示人類學已開始走人實用的階段．我們中國自應急起直追，迎頭趕上，使人類學的研究，在理論及應用上，同時並進；以邊政學為根據，來奠定新邊政的基礎，而輔助新邊政的推行.[101]

Similarly, Ma Changshou also claimed:

Among the Great Powers, The British Empire has colonized most and most widely, therefore functional anthropology in Britain has developed the furthest.

在列強裡，英帝國的殖民地最多最廣，因此應用人類學在英國最為發達.[102]

The political use of anthropology is evident here; the purpose of developing anthropology in China was to better rule the borderlands through the employment of a European colonial logic. Republican-era photography in the southwest, an important component of ethnographic research, must be placed within this political context. Some of the photographs taken by anthropologists were published in popular and commercial periodicals, while many amateurs' photographs of non-Han subjects also adopted the anthropological style. The proliferation of photographs of southwest non-Han subjects thus exemplifies the intertwined history of image, state, and boundary regimes.

Chapter Organisation

Focusing on the intersections of gender with ethnicity and imagery, this thesis is divided into four main chapters: each of the first three considers one dimension of gender, namely masculinity and femininity, sexuality, and the clothed and un-clothed body. The last

[101] Wu Wenzao 吳文藻, "Bianzheng Xue Fafan 邊政學發凡 (The Development of Boundary Studies)," *Bianzheng Gonglun* 邊政公論, 1, 5-6 (1942): 1-11 (2).

[102] Ma Changshou 馬長壽, "Renlei Xue Zai Woguo Bianzheng Shang de Yingyong 人類學在我國邊政上的應用 (The Implications of Anthropology for our Boundaries)," *Minzhu Luntan* 民主論壇, 1, 4 (1947): 9-13 (10).

chapter examines issues regarding the production, circulation and functions of imperial images, questions central to the penetration of engagements with gender between the various purposes for, and viewers of, the ethnographic visual repertoire. Taking a comparative approach to the Miao albums and modern ethnographic photography, each chapter is divided into two principal sections: the first section investigating the late imperial period and the second turning to the modern era.[103]

Challenging existing scholarship simplifying the gender framework in interpreting the representation of, and power relationships among, different countries and in domestic politics, we problematize the assumption that a more powerful party generally places itself in a masculine role, while regarding a weaker as effeminate. Chapter one brings masculine images of Miao women to the fore, arguing that the lower status of non-Han groups in the southwest was also conveyed through the portrayal of reversed gender roles, emphasising traits among women that contrasted strongly with upper-class Han Chinese femininity ideals. Concentrating on overwhelmingly popular *Nüguan* (female official) images in Miao albums from Guizhou, it analyses the visual grammar and narratives of their depiction and description by linking it to the popular culture of female heroines that developed from the late Ming period. Images of women working outside is another genre prominent among the Miao albums, and several ethnic minorities were associated with a characteristic "hard-working women and relaxed men" working culture. This chapter traces how male Han literati, working from upper-class Han Chinese perspectives on women's work and space, understood non-Han women's outdoor diligence as a signal of social inferiority. Gender values, advocated, promoted or dreamed of in Han Chinese culture were core to understanding the power relations between empire and periphery embedded in the Miao albums.

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[103] This design, juxtaposing two periods for comparison and contrast, is influenced by the organisation of Susan Mann's monograph *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Chinese History*, in which she placed the history of gender and sexuality in late imperial and modern China within the same chapter. Among his studies of the history of law in China, Philip Huang has likewise placed Qing and Republican-era law together for comparison and contrast. See, Susan Mann, *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Chinese History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Philip Huang, *Code, Custom, and Legal Practice in China: the Qing and the Republic Compared* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001); Philip Huang, "Women's Choices under the Law: Marriage, Divorce, and Illicit Sex in the Qing and the Republic Modern China," *Modern China*, 27, 1 (2001): 3-58.

Moving to Republican China, images and stories of masculine ethnic women were refashioned in accordance with new ideas and, in contrast to their understanding in late imperial ethnography, were greatly admired and interpreted as China's domestic feminists. Ethnic minority women involved in politics and scenes of women working were photographed and published in periodicals, while non-Han men, despised as lazy, scarcely appeared in the new media proliferating across the Republic. This section probes how ethnic minority women in the southwest fit into the recreated and localised definition of feminism in Republican China. The representation of these active non-Han women also served as a ready response to the 'woman question' discourses, influential since the late Qing period, in which traditional Han Chinese women were perceived as unproductive, lacking independence and a burden on the nation. Their ethnic minority counterparts provided both a model of productive effort and a supposed parallel to Western women in many respects.

Revealing the prominence of sexuality among the interests of Han Chinese literati, chapter two discusses the remarkable role of sexuality and marriage customs in representing southwest non-Han groups. Probing a genre of images featuring the naked female body, otherwise quite rare in Chinese visual culture, it examines the erotic imaginings of male Han Chinese towards non-Han women. We find some scenes depicting copulation among non-Han subjects, and note the considerable influence of Han Chinese concerns with virgin and widow chastity on late imperial ethnography. Non-Han dances connected to sexuality were romanticised, termed *Tiaoyue* 跳月 (dancing in the moonlight) by male literati and frequently recorded in numerous works of popular ethnography. As marriage customs were very different from the strictly regulated Han Chinese norms for sex and marriage, some male intellectuals also had ambitions to assimilate them through the adoption of Confucian rites, another distinctly Chinese dimension to the imperial experience.

In the early twentieth century, the *Tiaoyue* dance was redefined as free love, a sexual relationship among the young without the interference of parents. A set of Western discourses, including free love, escaping arranged marriage, freedom to divorce, and free sex, were involved in this re-conceptualisation of *Tiaoyue*, which came to reflect the reconfiguration and reform of sexual order and marriage customs in urban centres through the first half of the twentieth century. *Tiaoyue* marriage customs were used to manipulate and popularise new ideas about sexual regulation in a stronger China;

meanwhile, images and stories eroticising non-Han women constitute an important element of their popular ethnography.

Chapter three asks how the bodies of non-Han subjects were visualised and explores the ideas of ethnic difference and classification behind the images. This reveals how non-Han bodies were represented as ugly and dark-skinned, and highlights specific aspects of the physiognomy assigned to them, such as deep-set and yellow eyes, high or hooked noses, red hair, pig-like mouths and white teeth, along with the large exposed feet vividly characterising non-Han women in these images. Moreover, rather than the festival clothes so prominent in later depictions, the albums portrayed only everyday clothes. The representation of non-Han bodies with "distinctive" physiognomy, without shoes and in simplified clothes, all reflect a Han Chinese hierarchy constructed through physiognomy, foot-binding, and normative grading of garments.

Compared with the late imperial Miao albums, modern ethnographic photography displays several new characteristics in representing the ethnic minority body. This section sheds light on three of them: the front, side and back views adopted by photographers; the individual figures in half-length portrayals spotlighting the face and head; and an emphasis on splendid festival costumes. Such styles resulted from the influence of European and American ethnographic photography. The ethnic minority body and its various parts were measured with instruments like callipers, compasses, and rulers, and drawings and anthropometric-style photography helped to record the physical traits of the body, making it possible for viewers to scrutinise each part. Museological interest in costumes was a crucial factor in the trend for photographing non-Han subjects wearing splendid festival dress. Such styles had wide influence on popular photography and ethnographic illustration and painting. The role of such splendid festival costumes in representing the non-Han was a modern construction in China influenced by Social Darwinism and Western ideas of preservation and museum collection and exhibition. The finery of non-Han groups became a specific genre popular in commercial periodicals, offering new sources for the urban metropolitan people to seek exoticism and satisfy their curiosity.

Responding to the popularity of gendered images in Miao albums, the last chapter systematically considers the production, functions, circulation and viewers of imperial images. It challenges current historiography of imperial images that often ignores the pleasure dimension in their commodification. Proposing new ways of reading imperial

images, it contemplates the conflation of pleasure, commerce and politics. It uncovers the popularisation of Miao albums in the marketplace and their viewing for pleasure by consumers including a far wider section of the population than local government officials alone.

Photography of non-Han subjects was not confined to anthropologists for the purpose of research and preservation, but rather a regular feature in commercial periodicals such as *Liangyou*, *Tuhua Shibao*, and *Zhonghua Huabao* and was produced by a number of amateurs. Photography of non-Han peoples is thus one component of the visual culture of modernity in metropolitan centres such as Shanghai. The commercialisation of ethnographic photography was clearly reflected in images of Han Chinese people wearing Miao and Yao costumes and studio photography of non-Han subjects. The commercial success of ethnographic photography was inseparable from the grand context of the second Sino-Japanese war and the popular configuration of a new Chinese nation.

This thesis brings together three traditionally separate areas of historical literature: empire, image and gender. It adopts the perspective of gender to elucidate the mutual implications and reciprocal constitutions of empire and regimes of visuality in the southwest of China. Together these wonderful ethnographic images, Miao albums and modern ethnographic photographs enrich, challenge and revise our understandings of the intertwined histories of empire, vision and gender.

Chapter one: Gender inversion and the power of representation: imagining and visualising ethnic minority women's masculinity

> Their custom (Baiyi) is that men are exalted, while women are humble. Even the plebian regards his wife as slave and servant. Cultivation and weaving, trade, and corvée are all women's responsibilities. If not ill or senile, even when elderly, they do not receive (even) brief repose. When they reproduce, the aristocracy bathe at home, while the plebeian bathe in the river. They leave the baby to the husband three days later, and cultivate and weave as usual. 其俗男貴女賤, 雖小民視其妻如奴僕, 耕織貿易差徭之類皆系之, 非疾病, 雖老不得少息. 凡生子, 貴者以水浴於家, 賤者則浴於河, 三日後以子授其夫, 耕織自若.[1] (Ming 明)

> The author, in recent years, penetrated into the Miao and Yi district, doing fieldwork. This created opportunities to get close to the Miao and Yi people, which made the author feel they possess a number of marvelous and unique characteristics which are indeed commendable. Their women, in particular, are the most strenuous and diligent, and the most self-respected and independent, in China. They make the greatest contribution to both society and state, and they are the women most deserving of our respect. 筆者年來深入苗夷區域實地調查, 對苗夷族時常接近, 深覺他們有許多瑰異的特質, 實在難能可貴, 尤其在他們婦女, 可說在中國, 是最艱苦耐勞, 最自重自立, 於社會於國家是最有貢獻, 最使我們敬佩的婦女了.[2] (Republican China 民國)

This chapter's investigation of the inversion of gender roles or the masculinity of women, a powerful visual grammar in representing ethnic minority women, links intimately to a paradox with which my research has to wrestle. In a colonial context, when gender is applied to power relationships among different countries or within domestic politics, the powerful generally identify themselves as masculine, while the weaker are perceived as effeminate. In her study of British colonial history in India, Mrinalini Sinha argues that the logic of colonial masculinity was crucial for understanding late nineteenth century colonial history and how the gendered pattern of "manly Englishman" and the "effeminate Bengali" was constituted.[3] In the introduction for

[1] Li Sicong 李思聰, "Baiyi Zhuan 百夷傳 (Commentary of Baiyi), 1396," in *Baiyi Zhuan* 百夷傳 (the version by Qian Guxun 錢古訓), ed., Jiang Yingliang 江應梁 (Kunming: Yunnan Renmin Chubanshe, 1980), 149-150.
[2] Chen Guojun 陳國鈞, "Miaozu Funü de Tezhi 苗族婦女的特質 (The Unique Traits of Miao women)," *Zhongyang Ribao* 中央日報, 21 August 1939.
[3] Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The "Manly Englishman" and the "Effeminate Bengali" in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 19-22.

Gender and Empire, Philippa Levine also observes that the British Empire always seems a very masculine enterprise.[4] Angela Woollacott describes how, in imperial adventuring and war, the British male masculinities of boyhood and manhood supported imperial annexation, expansion, aggressive posturing, and outright warfare.[5]

With a specific reference to the ethnic minorities in contemporary China, in his pioneering research on gender and ethnic minority in China, Dru Gladney points out that "minority is to the majority as female is to male, as "Third" World is to "First," and as subjectivised is to objectivised identity."[6] In the same vein as Gladney, Louisa Schein's anthropological research pertaining to the Miao in Guizhou suggests that their representations in contemporary China are tremendously feminised.[7] Similarly, Ralph Litzinger also highlights feminisation in the representation of ethnic minorities in post-Mao China.[8] Based on years of ethnographic research on the Yi, in the southwest of China, Stevan Harrell suggests three metaphors of representing the peripheral peoples as effeminate, childish and ancient.[9] Emma Teng's study of the travel narratives on Taiwan likewise describe its portrayal as "an island of women".[10]

All of these important works, by considering gender in European colonial studies and the narrative and representation of ethnic minorities in both imperial and modern China, emphasise the remarkable role of femininity and women in representing and defining both the colonised and internal ethnic minorities. I came to the Miao albums with expectations based on these existing theorisations of gender and empire, but the gender representations that I found there contradicted these expectations. Surprisingly, rather than a "land of women", both men and women were depicted; in a number of images, men were represented as masculine and possessing physical strength, rather than being "effeminate" as one might have assumed; instead of the femininity of ethnic minority women, it is images alluding to women's masculine traits that prevail among Miao albums. For example, in Figure 1. 1, the images of *Yaoren* in *Yunnan Yingzhi Miaoman Tuce*, an album in the Wellcome trust collection, a man with a spear and a woman with a crossbow

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[4] Levine, "Introduction: Why Gender and Empire?," 1.
[5] Angela Woollacott, *Gender and Empire* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2006), 59-80.
[6] Dru Gladney, "Representing Nationality in China: Refiguring Majority/Minority Identities," *The Journal of Asian Studies,* 53 (1994): 92-123 (93).
[7] Louisa Schien, *Minority Rules: The Miao and the Feminine in China's Cultural Politics* (Durham and New York: Duke University Press, 2000), 1-17; Louisa Schien, "Gender and Internal Orientalism in China," *Modern China,* 23 (1997): 69-98.
[8] Ralph Litzinger, "Questions of Gender: Ethnic Minority Representations in Post-Mao China," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars,* 32, 4 (2000): 3-14.
[9] Stevan Harrell, "Introduction: Civilizing Projects and Reaction to Them," in *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers*, ed., Stevan Harrell (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1995), 10-17.
[10] Emma Teng, "An Island of Women: The Discourse of Gender in Qing Travel Writing about Taiwan," *International History Review*, 10, 2 (1998): 353-70.

drive away a fierce running tiger. This echoes the *wu* masculinity represented by Wu Song, a hero of the famous novel *The Water Margin* (*Shuihu Zhuan* 水滸傳) famed for killing a tiger with his fist.[11]

Figure 1. 1, Zhao Jiuzhou 趙九洲, "Yaoren 猺人," in an album of *Yunnan Yingzhi Miaoman Tuce* 雲南營制苗蠻圖冊(of 67 album leaves), undated (before 1820), Wellcome Trust Collection, London.

The way the Miao albums depict gender is thus counter-intuitive, which drives me to further ponder the complexity of gender, an important analytical tool, in imperial studies. Observing the large amount of images emphasising masculinity among both women and men in Miao albums, I ask whether masculinity could also be a useful category for study of the representation of the "weak" in colonial power relationships. Although relatively scant, some scholarship has noted the

[11] Kam Louie classifies Chinese masculinity into two patterns, the "wen" (broadly 'literary', or 'cultural' and 'elite associated') and the "wu" (broadly 'martial' and 'bourgeois associated'). Kam Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity: Society and Gender in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1-3. Also see: Vibeke Børdahl, "The Man-Hunting Tiger: From "Wu Song Fights the Tiger" in Chinese Traditions," *Narratives and Rituals in Asian Folk Religion and Culture*, 66, 1/2 (2007): 141-163.

masculine traits of the indigenous. For example, Streets Heather, in his study of the British army in the second half of nineteenth century and early twentieth century, notes that Punjabi Sikhs and Gurkhas from Nepal served as soldiers for the British empire and that the British regarded these men as especially martial. Heather also argues that military efficiency was not the sole reason for bringing the martial races within the army, this also reflecting a need to offset fears regarding masculine and racial degeneration within both imperial and British society and culture.[12]

In the case of China, several scholars, including Robert Van Gulik as early as the 1960s, have also pointed out how the Han elite linked the Manchu with a Manchu Martial masculinity that they rejected as vulgar and suited only to "Qing Barbarian", stressing by contrast a frail, scholarly ideal type.[13] Although the "New Qing" historians did not place gender in the foreground, masculinity still provided a useful perspective in their studies of the identity of Manchu rulers[14]; for example, Angela Zito and Mark Elliot note how men's masculinity became a tool instrumental to the maintenance of Manchu identity.[15] Among the images and texts of Miao albums, masculinity was also a powerful medium for defining the ethnic minorities in the southwest, and conveying the power relationships between the ethnicities of the Chinese empire. As briefly mentioned in the introduction, although the Qing ruler was Manchu, the Miao albums still substantially reflect the values and ethnics of Confucian Han Chinese culture. This utilization of gender is indeed very dynamic – the Manchu, masculine in Han Chinese eyes, also regarded the non-Han in the southwest as masculine. In the case of ethnic minorities in the southwest, the Manchu often employed Chinese ways of engendering the borderland to convey their superior status among the non-Han. This point is discussed further in the following chapters where we examine chastity and the function of imperial images.

This chapter thus argues that gender and power defined by femininity and masculinity are very significant to our understanding of how the non-Han were imagined, encoded and visualised. Stressing the masculinity of ethnic minorities, an aspect only scantily explored in the growing interdisciplinary scholarship of gender and ethnicity or gender and empire, it contests the energy generated from the women's inversed gender role and probes the processes by which power

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[12] Streets Heather, *Martial Races: the Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).
[13] Robert Hans van Gulik, *Sexual Life in Ancient China: a Preliminary Survey of Chinese Sex and Society from ca. 1500 B.C. till l644 A.D* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961), 296.
[14] Susan Brownell and Jeffrey Wasserstrom, *Femininities, Chinese Masculinities: a Reader* (Berkeley, Calif. and London: University of California Press, 2002), 19.
[15] Angela Zito, *Of Body & Brush: Grand Sacrifice as Text/Performance in Eighteenth-Century China* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 1-16; Mark Elliott, "Manchu Widows and Ethnicity in Qing China," *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 41, 1 (1999): 33-71.

relationships hinging on masculinity and femininity were conducted.[16] It thus challenges the over-simplified interpretative model of associating the powerful with the masculine and the weak with the effeminate. For example, in his studies of ethnic minorities in China, Stevan Harrell claims, "The great majority of portrayals of non-Han peoples, whether in traditional albums or modern tourist guides, are pictures of women."[17] In fact both women and men were depicted if the "traditional albums" here refers to Miao albums or *Imperial Tributary Illustrations* of late Imperial China. Due to the influence of the interpretive paradigm of the weak as feminine, ethnographic sources are easily mistakenly feminised. The investigation of masculinity is therefore significant to a reconsideration of the power relationships constituted by gender. The Miao album is an ideal case to demonstrate the dynamics of gender in historical analysis and to complicate the mutual constitutions of gender, image and imperial power in specific contexts of late Imperial China. Moreover, studies contemplating the Chinese ways of gendering and imperialism, or more broadly dealing with gender and ethnicity, are still relatively scarce.[18] This has been noted by Susan Brownell and Jeffrey Wasserstrom, who claim "surprisingly enough, however, many of the recent ethnicity studies do not devote a great deal of attention to gender, although a few argue that gender is absolutely central to ethnic identity."[19] The full engagement with gender in this chapter thus adds new dimensions to our understanding of intersections between gender and ethnicity.

The "mental image" of how the male Chinese elite conceptualise and manipulate masculinity and femininity is very important to understanding the representation of ethnic minorities. This also specifies Chinese ways of engendering empire, which differ from the imperial experiences of several European counties. In his studies on the definition of masculinity, David Gilmore observes it is difficult to generate a universal set of defining characteristics of masculinity, and many variations exist along the cross-cultural continuum of male images and codes.[20] Several gender historians specialising in China, including Kam Louie also highlight the complexity of masculinity/femininity in China. Susan Brownell and Jeffrey Wasserstrom remind us to consider femininity and masculinity in their particular contexts and consider by whom and in which places

[16] The argument for taking gender as a process based on masculinity and femininity, as well as a power relationship is stressed in, Christina Gilmartin*, Engendering China: Women, Culture, and the State* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1994), 9-11.
[17] Harrell, "Introduction: Civilizing Projects and Reaction to Them," 12.
[18] Maria Jaschok's studies on the female mosque and female Ahong in Henan after the 1980s is a major contribution to gender and ethnicity in China. See: Maria Jaschok and Shui Jingjun, *The History of Women's Mosques in Chinese Islam: A Mosque of Their Own* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2000), 1-7.
[19] Susan Brownell and Jeffrey Wasserstrom, *Chinese Femininities/ Chinese Masculinities: a Reader* (Berkeley, Calif. and London: University of California Press, 2002), 19.
[20] David Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 222-223.

judgements of masculinity and femininity are made.[21] Martin Huang also notes the impossibility of generalising masculinity and suggests it might be more useful to examine how masculinity/femininity are constructed together. [22] Masculinity and femininity thus being mutually constitutive and context-specific, rather than absolutes, adds significance to the examination of China's experience in the broad context of imperial engagement with gender, and of how gender works across geographical locations and historical epochs.

In my discussion of ethnic minority women's masculinity, this primarily refers to the opposite of femininity and gentility constructed in Han Chinese culture through work and space. An idealised Han woman of a well-off family was supposed to stay in the inner chamber rather than working along with men in the outer space; she was expected to work hard, but doing work different from the men's, such as weaving and embroidery. By contrast, non-Han women in the southwest were represented very differently: women did farm work outside along with men and even did a lot more work than men; images of non-Han female government officials were widely popularised even though the Qing emperors had replaced local non-Han chieftains with Han Chinese male officials. The masculine traits of non-Han women were an important aspect in male Han Chinese imagination and the situation of masculinity/femininity in Han Chinese culture signified China's imperial engagement of gender.

Furthermore, when turning to modern China, the imperial structure of gender order was decoded through the influence of imported feminist ideas. Correspondingly, the masculine traits of non-Han women were re-interpreted within new gender discourses, which demonstrate the centrality of Han Chinese conventions in leading the narrative of non-Han representation. Following the discussion of the late imperial period, we turn to visual and rhetorical transformations in representing the non-Han, shedding light on how the masculinity of ethnic Chinese women was incorporated into discussions of feminism in Republican China. This, through the comparative study of these two periods, provides insights into how civilization, ethnicity and modernity were engendered and transformed from late Imperial to modern China. In current scholarship on the history of feminism in modern China, few have noticed the links made between hard-working ethnic minority women and feminism in the first half of the twentieth century. This absolutely adds new and interesting sources to the study of feminism in China. On the one hand,

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[21] Susan Brownell and Jeffrey Wasserstrom, "Introduction: Theorizing Femininities and Masculinities," in *Chinese Femininities, Chinese Masculinities: a Reader*, 1-47 (2). For the current scholarship on masculinity in China, also see Geng Song and Derek Hird, *Men and Masculinities in Contemporary China* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Geng Song, *The Fragile Scholar: Power and Masculinity in Chinese Culture* (Hong Kong : Hong Kong University Press, 2004).

[22] Martin Huang, *Negotiating Masculinities in late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 9.

existing feminism studies help to interpret how and why the masculine traits of non-Han women changed from the late Imperial to modern discourses; on the other hand, these new sources demonstrate how ideas of feminism were localised in China, and how women were conceived as a national burden to the modern state.

This chapter is divided into two main blocks. It initially discusses how images of masculine women, including scenes featuring female government officials and hard-working women, were encoded and how the masculinity defined by work and space were conceived by Han Chinese men. Among several of her works, Emma Teng has also noticed this gender inversion, as part of her discussion of the feminisation of Taiwan, when she claims "numerous Chinese observers expressed surprise at the fact that it was the indigenous women, and not the men, who were engaged in agricultural production."[23] In my study of the inverted gender role of the non-Han in the southwest, I also explore how the inversed gender order was judged and interpreted by male Han Chinese literati. In most cases, the power of female government officials was not appreciated; by contrast, male Han Chinese were concerned more with their female beauty, their multi-pleated skirts, and their chastity, as widows to deceased husbands. The diligence of working women was not admired but rather associated with a lower status. However, in Republican China, the hard-working ethnic minority women in the southwest were tremendously respected in feminist thinking, as a counterpart to "unproductive" Han Chinese women, and some female government officials of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) were constructed as national heroines in war-time China. Situating this in the conceptualization of masculinity/femininity in late Imperial and modern China, this chapter sets out to explore the mutual constitutions of image, gender and empire.

Women in power: the fancy of images of "Nüguan 女官 (female government official)"

When opening a Miao album from Guizhou, the second entry is often an image of a *Nüguan* 女官 (female government official). This follows an image of the male Hei Luoluo 黑羅羅 (Black Luoluo, now officially recognised as Yi in the PRC) .[24] The accompanying text to the *Nüguan* image in the Bodleian Library's *Manliao Tushuo* 蠻獠圖說, states "Nüguan is the principle wife of Luoluo. She is called *Naide* (Patient and Virtuous). Only sons born to this wife may be crowned. If her son is

[23] Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*, 180.
[24] For the history of Yi, see Stevan Harrell, *Perspectives on the Yi of Southwest China* (Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press, 2001).

too young to handle official matters, she will act as a female official and be in charge of all affairs."[25] In their studies of the chieftain system in the southwest, scholars find the Ming government often recognised women as native chieftains. For example, in Yunnan's Qujing prefecture, women were selected as native prefect of the Xundian native prefecture on at least four occasions. Of the ten individuals who filled the prefectural magistrate's post in Sichuan's Wumeng native prefecture during the Ming dynasty, five were women. The Ming court fully recognised the legitimacy of confirming women as hereditary native chieftains.[26] The stories of some female government officials, such as She Xiang 奢香 (1358-1396) and Qin Liangyu 秦良玉 (1574-1648), were extremely popular and adapted for drama and fiction.[27]

It is, however, crucial to note that emperor Yongzheng abolished the native chieftainships and extended direct bureaucratic control over the formerly autonomous frontier areas.[28] While there were relatively few female government officials after the middle of the eighteenth century, the Han literati still displayed a deep fascination with the female local chieftains. Rather than reality, the images of female government officials in Miao albums were the stuff of male Han Chinese imagination. This begs the question of why images of female government officials were so assiduously fashioned after the abolition of the chieftain system. Since the late Ming, stories of female heroines had been popularised in various forms, including novels, drama and paintings, and the aforementioned female chieftains She Xiang and Qin Liangyu were included along with Han female heroines. This section thus tries to link the images of female officials to the popularisation of female heroines in late imperial China. In other words, contextualising them within the narrative of female heroines, it explores how the power of representation was generated from inversed gender roles.

Among the *Nüguan* images in various Miao albums, the female official was depicted following two patterns: the courtyard scene and the investigation scene. Although maintaining differences in some small details, the style of depicting Nüguan is often standardised. As we set out in the introduction, figuring out a set of visual grammar of depicting the non-Han is one of the most

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[25] 高羅濂 Gao Luolian , "Nüguan 女官," in *Maoliao Tushuo* 蠻獠圖說, undated (before 1917), Bodleian library, University of Oxford.

[26] Gong Yin 龔蔭, *Mingqing Yunnan Tusi Tongzuan* 明清雲南土司通纂 (*An edited compilation of native chieftains in Yunnan during the Ming and Qing dynasties*) (Kunming: Yunnan Minzu Chubanshe, 1985), 139, 263-302; Hu Qingjun 胡慶鈞, *Mingqing Yizu Shehuishi Luncong* 明清彝族社會史論叢 (*Collected essays on the history of Yi society during the Ming and Qing dynasties*) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1981), 242-3.

[27] Hu Xiaozhen 胡曉真, *Mingqing Wenxue zhong de Xinan Xushi* 明清文學中的西南敘事 (*The Southwest in the Ming-Qing Literary Imagination*) (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan Daxue Chuban Zhongxin, 2017), 219-250.

[28] Herman, *Empire in the Southwes*t, 47-50.

important tasks of this dissertation, and *Nüguan* images offer a good example. In Figure 1. 2, a *Nüguan* album leaf from the *Qiansheng Miaotu* 黔省苗圖, held by the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, we see the female government official on the left part of the image. Wearing a pink robe, she sits upright with legs open and one of her hands placed at her leg, the standard sitting posture for Han Chinese officials. A man lays sprawled on his stomach, serving as the chair for this female government official; behind him, another man holds a yellow umbrella over her from the back; two female servants, stand on the right: one carries a red box, and the other holds a yellow roll in her hands. When our gaze moves forward to the centre and the right part of the image, one man in a blue cloak kneels on the floor and another man leads a white horse. The *Nüguan* is probably on her investigatory rounds and has just dismounted to deal with the affair of the kneeling man whom she has encountered. Similarly, in another *Nüguan* image*,* in the aforementioned, *Manliao Tushuo* album from the Bodleian collection (Figure 1. 3), the *Nüguan*, accompanied by a group of servants, is riding on a white horse; a man in a blue cloak holds a blue parasol above her head. The outdoor setting might also suggest that the *Nüguan* is on her inspection tour.

Figure 1. 2, Anonymous, "Nüguan 女官," in an album of *Qiansheng Miaotu* 黔省苗圖(Miao Album of Guizhou), undated (before 1917), Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

Figure 1. 3, Gao Luolian 高羅濂, "Nüguan 女官," in an album of *Manliao Tushuo* 蠻獠圖說 (of 82 album leaves), undated (before 1892), Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

Another popular *Nüguan* depiction featured a courtyard. For example, the *Nüguan* image in the *Luodian Yifeng* 羅甸遺風 album preserved in the British Library (Figure 1. 4) shows the *Nüguan*, the tall woman in the center of the image, about to descend steps to mount her horse, which a groom holds for her while another attendant waits with a parasol to hold over her head. The scene takes place near the entrance of what appears to be a grand house, with tiled roofing and pillars, where part of an ancestral altar can be glimpsed. The *Nüguan*'s beautiful dress suggests her distinctiveness and status. According to the Ming Chieftain system, the Ming court

generally gave native chieftains imperial certificates, seals (silver or copper), hats, belts, and credentials including *fu* 符 (tallies) and *pai* 牌 (tablets).[29] The yellow umbrella and yellow roll in the female servant's hands were exactly what were given by the court and also suggested the willingness of her allegiance to the court and acceptance of appointment as local chieftain. The whole image represented a powerful, female, ethnically distinct woman.

Figure 1. 4, Anonymous, "Nüguan 女官, " in an album of *Luodian Yifeng* 羅甸遺風 (Legacies of Customs in Luodian) (of 20 album leaves), undated, British Library, London. (Series 16594).

[29] Yang, *Between Winds and Clouds,* 121-5.

Although these images do not mention the names of particular female officials, some insights into the tales of the well-known non-Han female government officials might be helpful to understand the representation of *Nüguan*. The legends of She Xiang and Qing Liangyu of the Ming era continued to be popularised under Qing rule. She Xiang was the wife of Ai Cui 靄翠, the *Xuan Weishi* 宣慰使 (Pacification Officer) of Guizhou, equal to the third rank of the Ming official system, and appointed by the Ming emperor.[30] After Ai Cui's death, she became the female ruler of west Guizhou. Suffering military harassment from a Han official, She Xiang went to seek help from the emperor, Taizu (r. 1368-98). Considering her importance for the Ming borders, Taizu beheaded the official. In return She Xiang promised to remain peaceful in her area and built postal relay stations 驛站 linking Guizhou and Sichuan. For her loyalty to the great Ming, she was bestowed the title "*Shunde* 順德 (loyal and virturous)" and the empress treated her to a meal and gave her numerous gifts.[31] According to Huang Zhangjian and Wen Chunlai, rather than historical facts, several parts of the popular tales of She Xiang were fictional, in particular the meeting with the empress, since the latter had died before the historical record suggests Shexiang met the Ming emperor.[32]

The tale of Qin Liangyu, the Miao female official in Sichuan, seems to have been more popular due to the turmoil of the late Ming period. Owing to his military talents, Qin Liangyu led a few military commands to defend the decaying Ming dynasty and was responsible for both recapturing cities from rebels and pacifying revolts over the years. No other woman in premodern China achieved the high official ranks – the third and later the second rank – granted to Qin Liangyu. Dong Rong 董榕 (1711—1760) adopted Qin's story as a drama, *Zhikan ji* 芝龕記, which was equally well-known as *Taohua Shan* 桃花扇 (Peach Blossom Fan).[33] The stories of She Xiang and Qin Liangyu were included in the series of female heroines featuring regularly in late imperial literature and illustrations. For example, in an album of twelve entries, *Ernü Yingxiongtu Shi'er Ce* 兒女英雄圖十二冊 (Twelve volumes of illustrations of female heroines) by Jiang Xiaoquan 薑曉泉, a Qing-era artist who specialised in painting beautiful ladies, they were placed alongside other

[30] They were Luoluo of Guizhou, which is known as Yi in PRC.

[31] The most influential version of the story of She Xiang originated in *Yanzhen Jiwen*. See: Tian Rucheng 田汝成, *Yanjiao Jiwen* 炎徼紀聞 (*Records in the Tropical Boundary*) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1985).

[32] Wen Chunlai 溫春來, "Mingchu Shuixi Junzhangguo yu Zhongyang de Guanxi-Shexiang Gushi ZhiKaobian yu Jiedu 明初水西君長國與中央的關係-奢香故事之考辨與解讀 (The Relationships between the King in Shuixi and the Empire in Early Ming-The Survey and Interpretation of Tales of She Xiang) ,"*Zhongshan Daxue Xuebao* 中山大學學報, 6 (2007): 81-5; Huang Zhangjian 黃彰健, "Mingshi Guizhou Tusi Zhuanji Aicui Shexiang Shishi Shibian 明史貴州土司傳記靄翠奢香事失實辯 (Contesting the Authenticity of the Biography of Ai Cui, the Local Chieftain of Guizhou in Ming History)," *Dalu Zazhi* 大陸雜誌, 68, 2 (1984): 4-11.

[33] Hu, *Mingqing Wenxue Zhongde Xinan Xushi,* 246.

heroines, such as Mulan 木蘭, Pingyang Gongzhu 平陽公主，and Feng Jieyu 馮婕妤.[34] These popular tales of She Xiang and Qin Liangyu are important for the interpretations of the images of non-Han female government officials, as the familiarity of viewers with these popular legends arrayed around them would affect the ways in which the *Nüguan* images would be viewed. In fact, both the anonymous female government officials in Miao albums and the popular tales of She Xiang and Qin Liangyu shared several similar narratives.

In order to understand the visual power of female government officials' representation, we need to shed some light on women's social and gender roles in Han Chinese culture. In general, Han Chinese women in imperial China were not supposed to be involved in politics, which was beyond women's interior sphere, although several gender historians have argued some pre-modern women were influential in politics.[35] Focusing on court women, Keith McMahon also suggests that despite the fundamental opposition to women rulers, many imperial women, such as Wu Zetian (624-705) and her daughter the Taiping Princess did in fact take part in state politics. McMahon also argues, however, that Empress Wu was actually the last woman in all of Chinese history to challenge the restriction of rule to men, and "China remained committed to the notion that women should never be rulers," and "women could take the man's place only by default, that is, when the man was weak and incapacitated." This by no means indicates that women were powerless in imperial China, but it was true that women were unable to create a framework for justifying themselves as rulers on their own.[36]

The normative distancing of women from rule in Han Chinese culture was probably one of the reasons why the *Nüguan* were frequently depicted. They were also depicted to suit the Han Chinese imagination and the appeal of chasing the exotic. In several poems pertaining to *Nüguan*, these women in power were conceived as eccentric, for example, in *Dongchuan Nüguan Ge* 東川女官歌 (Song of the female official in Dongchuan), Tian Wen 田雯 (1635-1704), a well-known poet in the early Qing dynasty, and the author of *Qianshu* 黔書 (The Book of Guizhou) satirised Nüguan

[34] See: Hu, *Mingqing Wenxue Zhong de Xinan Xushi*, 221.
[35] Lien-Sheng Yang, "Female Rulers in Imperial China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,* 23 (1960): 47-61; Xiaolin Li, "Chinese Women Soldiers: A History of 5,000 Years," *Social Education,* 58, 2 (1994): 67-71; Deng Xiaonan 鄧小南, "Cunzai?Bucunzai?: Nüxing yu Zhongguo Gudai Zhengzhishi 存在?不存在?: 女性與中國古代政治史 (Exist or not?: Women and Political History in Ancient China)," in *Xingbie Shiye Zhongde zhongguo Lishi Xinmao* 性別視野中的中國歷史新貌, ed., Liu Yongcong 劉詠聰 (Beijing: Shehui kexue Wenxian Chubanshe, 2012), 3-10; Chen Ruoshui 陳弱水, *Chutang Zhengzhi Zhongde nüxing Yishi* 初唐政治中的女性意識 (The Conscience of Women in the Politics of early Tang)," in *Zhongguo Funüshi Duben* 中國婦女史讀本, eds., Deng Xiaonan, Wang Zheng and You Jianming (Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe, 2011), 91-119.
[36] Keith McMahon, *Women Shall not Rule: Imperial Wives and Concubines in China from Han to Liao* (New York and London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, INC, 2013), 9; 205-7; 274.

vividly, "奇形詭狀非一徒 (few could compete with her eccentric physiognomy)".[37] Rather than women's power, it was their pleated skirts, ornamentation and female beauty in which male Han Chinese of the late imperial period were interested.

In her study of the legend of the early medieval heroine Mulan, Lan Dong summarizes several tactics of narratives on the female hero. Although their identity as women in power in Imperial China sounds rather unconventional, in these stories core Confucian moralities are carefully maintained and moral values carefully codified and modified.[38] As *Nüguan* were the widows of local chieftains, their chastity was a primary concern to male Han Chinese. In a poem, Shu Wei 舒位 (1765-1816), a poet and playwright, mocked *Nüguan* on the basis that they did not remain in mourning for their husbands, but were eager to take up his position.[39] In the aforementioned drama *Zhikan Ji*, along with the admiration of her military talent and loyalty to the Ming, Qin Liangyu was imagined and represented as a chaste widow, the drama eulogising her chastity after the death of her husband.[40] The marriage customs of non-Han are further explored in the next chapter, but in general, among a number of ethnic groups in the southwest, there were no sexual regulations binding widows, leaving Qin's chastity an imagined aspect which reflects the sexual orders of widowhood and chastity with which Han Chinese were highly concerned. Echoing Dong's observation of the Confucian morality encoded in tales of female heroines, in the case of female government officials in the southwest of China, they were either disdained for not maintaining long-term sadness as a widow, or "invented" as chaste widows.

Furthermore, the femininity of *Nüguan* was also emphasised, in a manner parallel to Dong's observation that femininity becomes a crucial point in understanding heroic womanhood and that chivalric tales usually emphasise the main character's gender identity and female beauty.[41] In the *Nüguan* images above, their dresses and ornaments were exquisitely depicted. Among the ethnographic writings of the southwest, a genre of poems recording and commenting on non-Han customs, *zhuzhi ci* 竹枝詞 (Bamboo branch poems), were extremely popular.[42] As well as images and textual annotation, poems were included in some Miao albums such as the album published

[37] Zhan Yuehai 占躍海, "Tian Wen Dongchuan Nüguange yu liangfu Nüguan Tu 田雯《東川女官歌》與兩幅"女官圖" (The Song of the Female Official in Dongchuan by Tian Wen and Two *Illustrations of Female Officials*)," *Minzu Wenxue Yanjiu* 民族文學研究, 4, 33 (2015): 24-31.
[38] Lan Dong, *Mulan's Legend and Legacy in China and the United States* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press, 2011), 15, 30.
[39] Shu Wei 舒位, "Luoluo 羅羅," in *Zhonghua Zhuzhici Quanbian* 中華竹枝詞全編, vol 7, ed., Qiu Liangren 丘良任 (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2007), 65.
[40] Hu, *Mingqing Wenxue Zhongde Xinan Xushi*, 246.
[41] Dong, *Mulan's Legend*, 48.
[42] Zhou Jianjun 周建軍, "Minzu Wenxue Shiyexia de Zhuzhici Yanjiu 民族文學視野下的竹枝詞研究 (Research on bamboo Branch Poem in the Context of Ethnographic Literature)," (Ph.D. Diss., Zhongyang Minzu Daxue, 2012).

by Laura Hostetler and David Deal.[43] Several 'bamboo branch' poems also described their multi-pleated dresses and luxurious jewellery and ornaments. For example, in one of his 'bamboo branch' poems pertaining to the ethnic minorities in Guizhou, Mao Guiming 毛貴銘, a talented poet of the late Qing, described a *Nüguan* as follows:

> Filamentary silver is above her forehead, and the side hair relined the temples, the golden earrings indicate she is from a truly rich family. Her skirt has thirty-six pleats, competing to see the female official, as if viewing flowers. 銀絲貼額鬢腳斜, 耳墜金環真大家. 裙拖三十又六副, 爭看女官如看花. [44]

The first three sentences all describe the *Nüguan*'s dress and the last indicates that the female official was a beautiful flower in the gaze of a male Han Chinese. Similarly, after viewing the portrait of Qin Liangyu, Shu Wei wrote a poem in which he described Qin as "*Meiren* 美人 (beauty)". The poet imagined the great beauty of Qin, as some sentences from the long poem indicate "The beauty rides on the peach blossom horse 美人飛上桃花馬," and "There are many talented men in this world, while there are a lot more beautiful women.世界不少奇男子, 天下偏多美婦人".[45] Rather than female government officials' talent, it was their femininity that was of interest. A *Nüguan* image (Figure 1. 5) in the collection of the library of Princeton University, depicts only women. Here a group of female servants hold the long skirts of this female government official; their unconventional and sexually indicative bodily postures are particularly distinctive.[46]

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[43] Hostetler and Deal, *The Art of Ethnography*.

[44] Mao Guiming 毛貴銘, "Qianmiao Zhuzhici 黔苗竹枝詞 (Bamboo Branch Poem of Miao in Guizhou)," in *Zhonghua Zhuzhici Quanbian*, 7 5.

[45] Shu Wei 舒位, "Ming Shizhu Xuanweishi Qin Liangyu Huaxiang Ge 明石柱宣慰使秦良玉畫像歌 (A Song for the Portrait of the Official in Shizhu, Qin Liangyu in Ming) ," in *Shizhu Wenshi Zilaio* 石柱文史資料, vol, 9, eds., Zhou Jianhua 周建華 (1988), 23

[46] Similar gestures of lady leaning the body could be found in several *Meiren Hua* in Qing dynasty, such as one of the most representative paintings of Leng Mei 冷枚 (1669-1742), *Chungui Juandu Tu* 春閨倦讀圖 (Lady in Her Boudoir with Book), a scene that exudes sexual ambiguity, a beautiful young woman, half sitting, half standing, leans against the side of a table. James Cahill suggests the female figures in Meiren paintings are courtesan class, rather than women of upper class as is usually understood. See: James Cahill, Sarah Handler and Julia White, *Beauty Revealed: Images of Women in Qing Dynasty Chinese Paintings* (University of California, Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive, 2013), 26.

Figure 1. 5, “Nüguan 女官,” in an album of *Miaozu Shenghuo Tu* 苗族生活圖 (Lives of Miao) (of 40 album leaves), Library of Princeton University.

Although female officials were represented as women in power with masculine traits, in some situations it was their femininity that was emphasised. Here it complicates the relationship between masculinity and femininity in the representation of the non-Han: not always standing as counterparts to one another, from time to time they work together. Focusing on the image of female government officials, this section has highlighted the inversed gender role in representations of non-Han women. In several 'bamboo branch' poems, these women in power were conceived as eccentric, transgressively political in the idealised Han Chinese imperial gender order. Apart from their military talent, and loyalty to China, the male Han Chinese seemed more concerned with their dress, ornament, and beauty, as well as whether they maintained chastity as widows. The enduring popularity of such *Nüguan* narratives demonstrates the commercial dimensions of Miao albums, addressed in the fourth chapter of this dissertation.

Interpreting "*Nanyi Nülao* 男逸女勞 (men relax, while women work)" as "*Nangui Nüjian* 男貴女賤 (Men are exalted, while women are humble)": defaming women's work through space

Beside the image of female officials, a number of scenes of hard-working women in an outside space also highlight the inversed gender role and the masculine traits of non-Han women. Women in the Miao albums were extensively active in all sorts of work, including weaving, spinning, farming, hunting, caring for babies and cooking. In terms of the division of labour, this varies, including both men and women farming; men farming and women weaving ; men hunting and women farming; both men and women raising cattle; both men and women hunting; and women doing all the work, while men are at leisure at home or doing business in some location distant from his village. *Luohei* 倮黑, in the album *Yiren Tushuo Mulu* 夷人圖說目錄 (Figure 1.6), to take one of the great many examples of working scenes, depicts a woman digging with a hoe in mountainous farmland; two men above the stage, one with a spear, and the other with a crossbow, chase a wild animal with brown fur.

Figure 1. 6, Anonymous, "Luohei 倮黑," in an album of *Yiren Tuoshuo Mulu* 夷人圖說目錄 (contents of the illustrations of *Yiren*) (of 108 leaves), undated, Harvard-Yenching Library, Cambridge, MA.

When men's work was compared to women's, several images indicate that men did much less. In Figure 1. 7, the image of *Bafan Miao* 八番苗, all the women are engaged in work outside their house. One woman, standing above a wooden board, is husking rice with a stick in a stone container; two other women closer to the riverside are pounding dried crop stems with tools

comprising two sticks. The man in the centre of the image, however, is watching women working, leaning on the pounding pool and doing nothing. The text annotates this as follows:

> The clothing of the *Bafan Miao* is similar to that of the Chinese. The women twist their hair into a knot on top of their heads. According to their tradition, the men stay at home and remain at leisure, while the woman work. They go into the fields at sunrise, and come home and weave cloth when the sun sets. They pick rice from the fields, and save it along with the stems. They manufacture mortars for pounding rice by hollowing out trees; these are called "pounding pools." They only begin to husk the rice immediately before cooking it. 八番苗衣服同漢人，婦女直頂發作髻．其俗男迤女勞，日出而耕夜入而織．折稻和稭貯，刳木作臼曰椎塘，必臨飲始取稻把手舂之.

Figure 1. 7, Anonymous, "Bafan Miao 八番苗," in an album of *Miaoman Tuce* 苗蠻圖冊 (of 82 album leaves), Library of Academic Sinica, Taipei.

The phrase *Nanyi nülao* 男迤女勞 (Men relax while women work) was utilised in this text, summarising unbalanced work between women and men. Women were rather diligent; they worked long hours from sunrise and after sunset turned to weaving. A poem pertaining to the

Bafanmiao says that "don't call the *Fanmiao* entirely lazy, women have long been those who work. Every family harvests rice, and saves the straw and stems, they never husk the rice until they are ready to cook 莫怪番苗一味慵， 由來操作婦能供． 家之折稻連稭貯， 不到臨炊不下舂. "[47] The last two sentences describes the special custom of cooking rice, while the first two state pointedly that their men were lazy, by contrast, their ladies were diligent and did everything to support the family. The *Nanyi nülao* mode was not limited to the *Bafan miao*, but was prevalent among other ethnic groups as well. According to *Tengyue Zhouzhi* 騰越州志 (local gazetteer of Tengyue prefecture), the *Da Boyi* 大伯夷[48] are also recorded as *Nanyi nülao*: "whilst men stay at home, remaining at leisure, women work. No matter whether spinning and weaving or farm work, none are left behind. 男迤女勞， 紡織負擔不綴. "[49]

Based on these images, it is not surprising that scholarship emphasizing the high status of ethnic women in late imperial China frequently cites studies of Miao albums,[50] alongside the feasibility of appointing female Luoluo as government officials and the higher workload of women, contributing to her family and providing more than men. Such interpretations are influenced by a modern gaze. In several of their works, Dorothy Ko, Francesca Bray, Susan Mann, and Patricia Ebrey highlight distorted images of premodern Chinese women. These include, for example, the binding of women's feet leaving them hardly able to walk; compulsory marriage to whomever their fathers chose; prohibition of remarriage if widowed; imprisonment in the interior chamber; and being incapable of any productive work; all of which were generated by the nineteenth century confrontation between China and the Western powers. Such imagery of women as victims of patriarchy and deprived of all freedom "still directs the rhetoric and scholarship of many politicians and historians, not to mention the general public, today." [51] In contrast to the 'oppressed' Han Chinese women in late imperial China, ethnic minority women were accordingly conceived as free and privileged by high social and family status.

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[47] Tapp, *The Tribal Peoples of Southwest China,* 29.
[48] Due to the complicated ethnic reclassification in modern China, it is difficult to trace how Da Boyi and many other ethnic groups in Qing dynasty were recatogrised in PRC. This issue of ethnic classification will be further discussed in Chapter three.
[49] "*Tengyue Zhouzhi* 騰越州志," in *Daoguang Yunnan Tongzhigao* 道光雲南通志 (*The gazetteer of Yunnan in the reign of Daoguang*), in *Yunnan Shiliao Congkan* vol. 13, 360.
[50] Yang and Pan, *Baimiaotu Chaobeng Huibian*, 8-15; Nicholas, *The Tribal Peoples of Southwest China*, 68.
[51] Francesca Bray, "The Inner Quarters: Oppression or Freedom?," in *House Home Family: Living and Being Chinese*, eds., Ronald Knapp and Kai-yun Lo (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press , 2005), 259-80. Patricia Ebrey, "Gender and Sinology: Shifting Western Interpretations of Footbinding, 1300-1890," *Late Imperial China*, 20 (1999), 1-34; Susan Mann*, the Talented Women of the Zhang Family* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2007), 165-200; Dorothy Ko, "Perspectives on Foot-binding," *Asian Network Exchange,* 15 (2008): 11-13; Dorothy Ko, *Cinderella's Sister: A Revisionist History of Footbinding* (London: University of California Press, 2005), 10, 109-44.

There are indeed some works addressing the "high status" ethnic minority women. With an analysis focused on how the northern regimes governed by non-Chinese peoples, in particular the Northern Wei (386–534) of the Tabgach, McMahon observes that unlike their Chinese counterparts, women of non-Han societies took part in government decisions, the defense of cities, and the punishment of bandits and rebels.[52] Similarly, Linda Johnson, also observes that "Bred and taught by warriors, Kitan and Jurchen women of the Liao (905–1124) and Jin (1115–1234) dynasties became warriors themselves. They possessed an exceptional degree of agency, assertiveness, and power, combined, perhaps surprisingly, with Confucian education, literacy, and Buddhist piety." [53] The history of ethnic minority women and the history of their representation are, however, two different questions. We therefore need to be very careful with sources pertaining to the non-Han in our analysis of gender.

The Miao albums also did not make judgments upon *Nanyi nülao*. It is certain that words such as high status, gender equality and freedom did not appear in the Miao albums. In ascertaining whether historical sources recorded such judgements, the researcher must dive into other ethnographic documents, such as the sections on *Zhongren* 種人 (ethnic groups) in local gazetteers of Yunnan, as well as some travel accounts.

This reveals that the customs of one ethnic group, the *Baiyi*, were so judged in the Ming era. Li Sicong 李思聰 and Qian Guxun 錢古訓 travelled in the fourteenth century to the southern parts of Yunnan, and each wrote their own *Baiyizhuan* 百夷傳 (*Accounts of the Baiyi*). The version of Li Sicong has been listed in the very beginning of this chapter, which vividly expressed men were exalted, while women were humble.[54] Xie Zhaozhe 謝肇淛 (1567-1624), an official in the late Ming era, also writes in *Dianlüe* 滇略 that "according to their custom, compared to the exalted men, women are humble. Men regard their wife as a servant. Unless sick or frail and old, they do not enjoy even a short repose. Three days after giving birth, she leaves the child to her husband and weaves and farms as usual. 其俗男貴女賤, 以妻為僕, 非疾病衰老不得少息. 生子三日後以子授其夫, 耕織自若."[55] The phrase *Nangui Nüjian* 男貴女賤 (Men were exalted, while women were humble) was employed in both Li and Xie's accounts, as was the statement that women were

[52] McMahon, *Women Shall not Rule*, 137-8.
[53] Linda Johnson, *Women of the Conquest Dynasties: Gender and Identity in Liao and Jin China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 18.
[54] Li, *Baiyi Zhuan*, 149.
[55] Xie Zhaozhe 謝肇淛, *Dianlüe* 滇略 (Introduction to Yunnan) (*Siku Quanshu Zhenben* 四庫全書珍本 155) (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1972), 18.

regarded as slaves and servants to their husbands! These reports thus directly oppose interpretations identifying a high status for ethnic women.

In the Miao album from Yunnan, the *Baiyi* are depicted in scenes that show women bathing in a river, something that does not reflect customs as recorded by Li and Xie. Notwithstanding, the depiction of *Langci Miao* (Figure 1. 8) for example, mirrors the couvade scene. In a domestic setting, an old man holding, an infant in his arms, sits on a bed by leaning on a pillow; a lady holding a tray with bowls of food is probably his wife. Men not only took care of infants at home, but also waited for women to serve food. One of the poems from the Miao albums reads: "the *langci Miao* are the strangest people of all, the husbands remain at leisure while their wives toil. A most questionable practice. They keep things in order and pay no attention [to what goes on outside] and complain of being tired. 人情最謬屬郎慈，夫逸婦勞甚可疑．摒擋不聞稍告瘁，莫誇鴻案有齊著. "[56]

[56] Tapp, *The Tribal Peoples of Southwest China,* 41.

Figure 1. 8, Anonymous, "Langci Miao 郎慈苗," in an album of *Guizhou Bamiaotu* 貴州八苗圖 (of 8 album leaves), undated, Library of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing.

The Miao albums merely commented that the customs of *Langci Miao* were peculiar, while both Li and Xie utilised the much stronger phrase *Nangui Nüjian* (men were to comment on the *Baiyi* customs. Although Qing-era ethnographic documents remain largely silent when searched for criticism of ethnic minority customs, some evidence from this period can be found. Lu Ciyun 陸次雲, a government official in the eighteenth century, in *Dongxi Xianzhi* 峒溪纖志 (Account of Dongxi), presents records of an ethnic group, the *Mubang* 木邦, in southern Yunnan: "according to their customs, men wear white cloth and tattoos…women wear golden necklaces and ivory bracelets. They all live in a bamboo house with multiple storeys; men are exalted while women are humble. Men all regard their wives as slaves and drive them to farm and weave. 其俗男衣白文身……女飾金圈， 象鐲． 居皆竹樓， 男貴女賤， 民皆奴視其妻， 馭之耕織．"[57] Thus, the

[57] Lu Ciyun 陸次雲, "*Dongxi Qianzhi* 峒溪纖志," in *Daoguang Yunnan Tongzhigao*, vo. 13, 395.

judgement of *Nangui Nüjian* was not merely confined to the *Baiyi,* but actually applied to several ethnic groups whose custom was *Nanyi Nülao* throughout the Ming and Qing periods.

It is noteworthy that ethnic women's engagement with and contribution to both outside and inferior affairs was not admired; by contrast, those ethnic men who did less work than women were considered *gui*, a term denoting superior status. A woman worked extensively from day to night because she was either the servant or slave of her husband. Even at the very moment of reproduction, women could not rest for a short while, but her husband could stay in bed and wait for food. To the Han Chinese, laziness is something a good Confucian character tries to avoid; it was unlikely that these lazy men would be regarded as superior. One possibility is that in Miao society, working hard was in itself considered a mark of social inferiority (*jian*), and leisure the mark of superiority (*gui*). There is a distinction here between the Han observer's opinion (ethnic men are lazy and the women work their fingers to the bone), and the opinion within ethnic society which they report (Miao think men are superior to women / Miao treat men as superior and women as inferior). Thus the sources representing ethnic minorities are often mixed, including both the opinions of local society and the imagination of the observer.

Furthermore, work was a vital criterion of moral goodness for Han Chinese women in late imperial China.[58] With the development of urbanisation and occupational specialisation starting in the eleventh century, more and more families purchased textiles from the market, rather than weaving themselves. Despite this, the model of "men farming and women weaving" was advocated repeatedly in late imperial China. This in part reflected fears of traditional social order being weakened by the shift in women's roles away from weaving, and also addressed the moral importance of work to good women. [59] Hard-working women were not, however, admired in late Imperial ethnography. If we consider this from the perspective of morality and social status endowed in women's placement in interior and outside space, we may get more of a sense of how images of working women were viewed in late imperial China.

For the Han Chinese ideal culture, the model that men worked outside and women were limited in the domestics was seen as respectful to women, in that the heavy work was all left to men and domestic tasks were relatively facile. In her study of Chinese women's space in late imperial period, Francesca Bray notes that "even the poorest and most humble families set apart some portion of their domestic quarters as a secluded space for the women. Men and women who were not related were not supposed to have any physical or even social contact, and within the family, male and female in-laws were supposed to keep their distance--eating at separate tables,

[58] For women's active role in work also see: Mann, *Precious Records,* 143-177.
[59] Bray, *Technology, Gender and History in Imperial China,* 94-7.

for example. Men were expected to leave the inner quarters for work early in the morning, and except in rare circumstances respectable women were supposed neither to leave the house nor to allow anyone from outside the household to enter."[60] Huizhen Liu also observes that in three ways women were kept separated from men: women could not dine at the same table with men; male family members could not enter the bedroom of a young woman; male servants were not allowed inside the woman's quarters. [61]

Bray challenges the conventional understanding of the inner chamber as an oppressive patriarchal order in which men confined women, pointing instead to the potential freedom enjoyed by women in the interior space: "She had a room of her own where she could retreat with her children and where she kept her dowry in locked trunks under her own control."[62] These conventions were not limited to people from the upper classes. Both Bray and Mann argue that even in working families women's work was delimited in certain ways that retained the moral implications of womanly work. "Women who worked outside the home lowered the status of the family. Female seclusion was a basic mark of respectability and orthodoxy that every family hoped to retain, and only the poorest and most desperate families would allow their women to go out to work."[63] The seclusion of women's work in the home signalled respectability. The images in *Genzhi Tu* 耕織圖 (Illustrations of Weaving and Farming) could also demonstrate this point. For example, in two album leaves (Figure 1. 9 and Figure 1. 10), women and men are depicted working separately, men in farmland, women at home. Bray also suggested that the reprinting of *Genzhi Tu* in Qing China was not for the promotion of technique, but to illustrate an aspirational lifestyle.[64] The images represented there were not necessarily reality, but reflected the longing for an idealised society where men farm and women weave. [65] This idealised blueprint was constructed through gender segregation and space. Therefore, space is an important aspect to consider when analysing the responses of late imperial viewers of Miao albums.

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[60] Bray, *The Inner Quarters,* 259. In terms of the separation of women and men in Chinese culture, also see: Bret Hinsch,"The origins of Seperation of the Sexes in China," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* 123, 3 (2003): 595-616.
[61] Huizhen Liu, *The Traditional Chinese Clan Rules* (Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin, 1959), 93-6.
[62] Bray, *The Inner Quarters*, 279.
[63] Bray, *Technology, Gender and History in Imperial China*, 112-3. Susan Mann, *Precious Records, Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 150-3.
[64] Bray, *Technology, Gender and History in Imperial Chin*a, 232-4.
[65] For the idealization of *nangeng nüzhi*, see also: Zhang Qing 張瓊, "Huangquan yu jiyi, Qingdai Nei Zhiranju Kaocha 皇權與技藝：清代內織染局考察 (Imperial Power and Technology: Research on the Internal Bureau of Weaving and Dyeing)," in *Gongting yu Difang: Shiqi zhi Shiba Shiji de Jishu Jiaoliu* 宮廷與地方: 十七至十八世紀的技術交流, ed., Dagmar Schäfer (Beijing: Zijincheng Press, 2010), 77-123.

Figure 1. 9, Jiao Bingzhen 焦秉貞, "Liansi 練絲, " in *Yuzhi Gengzhi Tu* 禦制耕織圖 (Imperially Commissioned Illustrations of Agriculture and Sericulture), 1696, Ink on paper, 24 x 24cm, Book leaf (of a book of 46 leaves), Collections of the British Library, London. (1949,0709,0.1).

Figure 1. 10, Jiao Bingzhen 焦秉貞, "Chayang 插秧," in *Yuzhi Gengzhi Tu*, Collections of the British Library, London.

Bringing together the *Nüguan* images and the images reflecting the division of labour among ethnic men and women, one of the common aspects they shared was that of space. The interior space assigned to women in Han Chinese culture embedded strong moral values. Social hierarchy among Han families was displayed through women's working space, as women working outside lowered a family's status. In an ethnographic context, this same hierarchy distinguished the "civilised" from the "barbarian". The images of ethnic women of Yunnan and Guizhou in the Miao albums were represented in rather masculine code and, compared with the Han Chinese, the culture and lifestyle of ethnic minorities in the southwest were less gendered, showing less

concern for gender segregation. The purpose of representing ethnic women's masculinity with an emphasis on space was to stress difference from Han culture. The toiling ethnic women in an outside space were not admired. Unfortunately, therefore in spite of ethnic women's ability to take up political rulership, wielding power over men, and working diligently, they were not considered to possess higher social and domestic status in late imperial China. The representation of "high status" ethnic minority women was developed through a twentieth-century gaze, and the next section probes this process.

The most respected women in China: refashioning images of Non-Han women at work in Republican China

When we turn to the twentieth century, the gender roles of non-Han women in the southwest of China were re-visualised and re-texualised in new visual forms and modern discourses. Among professional and amateur research reports, travel accounts in popular newspapers and periodicals, dramas, films and novels, tales of the daughters of local chieftains, the legend of Qin Liangyu, and hard-working women in outside space were represented for the Republican audience in various forms, text, photography, prints, illustrations, opera, and film. In contrast to late Imperial China, the non-Han women in the southwest were conceived as the most respected women in China, as the text placed at the very beginning of this chapter, from the 1939 article "Miaozu Funü de Tezhi," by the Republican-era scholar Chen Guojun 陳國鈞, vividly indicates.[66] The development of feminist ideas in modern China is central to an understanding of the transformative narratives of the non-Han. These changing narratives demonstrate the art of representation, and the ways in which Han Chinese saw the world played an important role in the translation of Miao lives into images and text. As gender order among Han Chinese was deconstructed/reconstructed, ways of representing the non-Han altered accordingly.

Among the photographs of non-Han peoples circulating in the Republican commercial press, the images of non-Han women at work was not a particularly popular genre, especially when compared with the images of dancing, marriage customs, and splendid exotic festival costumes which are discussed in the next two chapters. The photographs showing women at work are generally held in the collections of research institutes such as Academia Sinica. Meanwhile, some photography showing the *nanyi nülao* unbalanced work between men and women continued to be fashionable as a curiosity. For example, in *Liangyou* 良友, one of the most successful and popular pictorial periodicals in Republican China, in an article titled "Jinri zhi Tufan, Yige Nanduo Nüqin de Shehui 今日之吐蕃, 一個男墮女勤的社會 (Present-Day Tufan, a Society of Lazy Men and Diligent Women)", Zhuang Xueben 莊學本 (1909-1984) put together several images of Tufan

[66] Chen, *Miaozu Funü de Tezhi,* 1.

women at work, including scenes of weaving, ploughing, and carrying woods, spinning and making goat-skin leather (Figure 1. 11). The accompanying texts, in both Chinese and English, stressed that most work was done by women. Similarly, the photography of *Baiyi* (Figure 1. 12) published in the pictorial periodical *Zhonghua* 中華 was another photography showing a woman spinning, the caption for the image reporting, "women do both farming and weaving, and they are much more diligent than men."

Figure 1. 11, Zhuang Xueben 莊學本, Photography of working scenes of "Tufan 吐蕃," *Liangyou* 良友, 112 (1935): 15.

Figure 1. 12, Anonymous, Photography of "*Dianbian Baiyi* 滇邊擺夷 (Baiyi in the borderland of Yunnan," *Zhonghua* 中華, 76 (1940): 38.

This is not to suggest an absolute dividing line between images for scientific research and popular images for the masses. Regarding the collections of photographs of the daily lives of the non-Han held by Academia Sinica, a lot more images of women, such as the weaving scenes of a Luohei woman in Yunnan (Figure 1. 13), were taken than of men. Moreover, *Tuhua Shibao* 圖畫時報, another very popular pictorial periodical in Republican China, published some images taken as part of the Guangxi expedition undertaken by a scientific research group from Academia Sinica, which included photographs of women at work, but no images representing men at work.[67] In Figure 1. 14, an image on the top left of this page in *Tuhua Shibao*, a young Miao woman carries two baskets of grasses. The annotation on the left describes how, by daybreak, the young Miao

[67] Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Guangxi Kexue Diaochatuan 中央研究院廣西科學調查團, "Guangxi Miao Yao Dong Zhu Turen Yipie 廣西苗猺狪獞諸土人一瞥 (A Glimpse of All kinds of Barbarians, Miao Yao and Dong in Guangxi," *Tuhua Shibao* 圖畫時報, 540 (1929): 1.

woman has already finished cutting grass and carried it back home. It is important to understand the differences in representing non-Han people between different agencies, in different media, and for different viewers, while recognising the blurring of divisions between these. This section sets out to explore why women were more photographed than men and how gender inversion was re-interpreted in the Republican era.

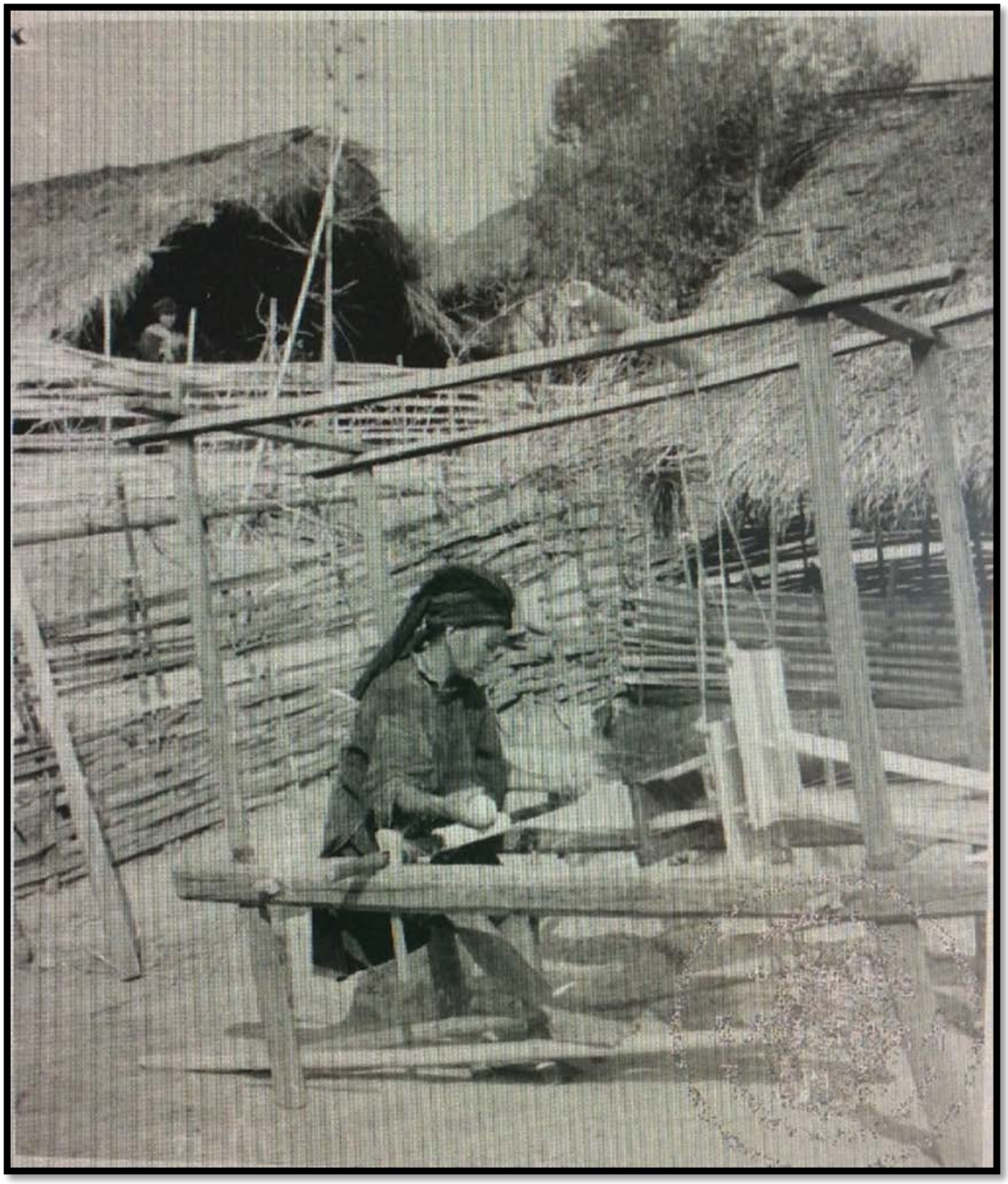

Figure 1. 13, Yong Shiheng 勇士衡, *Yunnan Luohei Furen Zhibu* 雲南倮黑婦人織布(Luohei woman in Yunnan weaving), Photography, 6 x 6 cm, 1936, Collection of Academia Sinica, Taipei. (LH.048)

Figure 1. 14, Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Guangxi Kexue Diaochatuan, Photograph of "Guangxi Miao Yao Dong Zhu Turen 廣西苗猺狪獞諸土人," *Tuhua Shibao* 圖畫時報, 540 (1929): 1.

In the aforementioned article placed at the very start of this chapter, Chen further portrays women's work in detail:

Their work is extremely heavy. They get up as soon as it turns light. In groups of three or five, carrying sickles in their hands and bamboo baskets on their shoulders, they walk in the mountains through long grass and forests, thirty or fifty *li* from home. They cut two big baskets of grass, then carry them on their way back home, the route filled with their laughter. When they arrive home, the sun has just turned red and it is still too early for lunch. They do not rest even briefly after lunch, instead, holding hoes and wearing bamboo hats, leaving in a group to work in the fields. After working in the daytime, they continue to do domestic work in the evening. They do not go to bed until late at night. They are busy with work from day to night and the whole year round, but they would never feel tired……We know their women treat work as a way of being human; if one does not work, one could not eat. They realize that work can fulfill life and work is the home of the soul. Therefore, they make the greatest use of the body and intelligence gifted to them, and all of their life hinges on diligence.

她們的工作極其繁重，天一亮就起床，三三五五手裡拿著鐮刀，肩上放著竹杠，走在三五十裡的重山峻巔，草深林密的所在，割了一大擔蘆草，一路嘻嘻哈哈，前呼後應，往往返到家裡才是紅日上窗邊沒有到吃早飯的時候，等到吃完飯後，她們也用不著休息，荷鋤戴笠又相約到田裡去了．白天做完工作，到晚仍在家中作工，一直到深更半夜才睡覺．她們從一天到晚一年到頭，都是忙個不了，但她們總是不感到疲勞，簡直養成了習慣，終生不改，最難得的就是他們沒有一句怨言……就上面所述，我們可知道他們婦女已如何把工作當作為人之道，不做不得吃，她們識得勞動可以充實人生，勞動可以寄寓靈魂，故此她們日常的活動，充分運用她們天賦的體格與才智，一生受勤勞習慣所支配. [68]

Rather than reality, this sounds more like the daily schedule of Miao women as imagined by Chen. More importantly, these hard-working Miao women were highly admired by Chen, in that they were conceived as "the most strenuous and diligent, the most self-respecting, independent and respected women in China". At the same time, women's diligence was underlined through their comparison with men. In the following part of the same article, Chen claimed that "They are absolutely much greater than men 她們實教男子優異得多."

Differing from the views expressed in late imperial China, when ethnic women's hard work was regarded as akin to slavery, in Republican China their diligence and contribution were highly admired and these traits were considered as *nanneng kegui* 難能可貴 (rare and valuable). In order to understand these transformations in representing the non-Han, it is essential to place them in the context of the history of women and gender among Han Chinese in modern China, a well-developed area of research.[69]

[68] Chen, "Miaozu Funü de Tezhi," 1.
[69] Mizoyo Sudo, "Concepts of Women's Rights in Modern China," in *Translating Feminisms in China*, eds. Dorothy Ko and Zheng Wang (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 13-34.

China's domestic feminists?: reinterpreting non-Han gender roles

The admiration of the diligent and hard-working non-Han women is inseparable from the introduction and diffusion of feminism in modern China. In fact, the word *nüquan* 女權 (feminism) also appeared in the narrative of hard-working non-Han women in the southwest. This section thus explores how some gender discourses in modern China affected the new representation of "high status" non-Han women. Meanwhile, existing scholarship on feminism in Republican China often links to the inspirations of European and American women; the case of ethnic minorities in the southwest frontier thus adds new and fresh sources to trace the localisation and recreation of ideas of feminism in China.

A special issue of *Guoli Xinan Lianhe Daxue Chuankang Kexue Kaochatuan Zhanlanhui* 國立西南聯合大學川康科學考察團展覽會 (Exhibition of Chuankang Science commission of the National Union University in the Southwest), recorded a journey of ten students and one teacher to the Black Yi 黑夷 area during their summer holiday. One of them, Qiu Liqun 裘立群 wrote:

> The black Yi woman are extremely respected and are at the center of family life. Ethnic women have the right to decide all the affairs in the home. If a war happens within two tribes, the Black Yi women are able to stop the war by showing their faces. Once they are there, the two sides are supposed to stop immediately, awaiting their resolution. Unfortunately, if both sides return to conflict, the Black Yi women would then feel extremely ashamed and might commit suicide. Their custom of respecting women's rights seems to accord with the taste of western people. It is so interesting.
>
> 黑夷的女子極為尊貴，為一家的中心．凡是家政上的一切事物都要取決於女子．凡是兩族相爭，發生戰爭，黑夷女子，可以出面調停戰爭，雙方當時就得停止爭執，聽候解決．不幸雙方複起爭執，則出面調停的貴族夷女，可以羞至自殺．這樣尊重女權的習俗，仿佛有點西洋人的風味，倒是很有趣味. [70]

The Miao albums from late imperial China include some images showing Miao women's magic role in stopping fights among men, for example, in a scene depicting Hongmiao men fighting (Figure 1. 15), women are shown trying to stop it. While the imperial sources did not offer explicit comments on Hongmiao customs, Republican intellectuals used feminist ideas to justify the Miao women's contributions to conflict among different tribes. Similar to what is illustrated in the Miao albums, Qiu noted that as soon as women appeared in a conflict between two tribes, peaceful

[70] Qiu Liqun 裘立群, "Daxiao Liangshan Jianwenji 大小涼山見聞記 (Travel accounts in Big and small Cold Mountains)," *Guoli Xinan Lianhe Daxue Chuankang Kexue Kaochatuan Zhanlanhui Tekan* (1942).

resolution could be achieved immediately; there was great shame on the women if their intervention failed. Anthropologists like Xu Yitang 徐益堂 and Yang Guodong 楊國棟 also observed women's role in halting wars between different tribes.[71] Rather than offering answers to how such a magical role for women was justified and rationalised, they associated such customs with women's high status and feminist ideas. According to Qiu, Black Yi women's power in dealing with male affairs signifies women's honorable status. The word *nüquan* 女權 (women's rights) appeared in the last sentence of the above text to define the behaviour of ethnic women.

Figure 1. 15, Anonymous, "Hongmiao 紅苗," in an untitled album (of 28 album leaves), undated, Wellcome Trust Collections, London.

What is striking in Qiu's account is that the customs of ethnic women were compared with the culture of *Xiyang ren* 西洋人 (Western people). Qiu's colleague Zeng Zhaolun 曾昭掄, in his study

[71] Xu Yitang 徐益堂 and Yang Guodong 楊國棟, "Dayuanjia, Luoluo Shizu jianzhi Zhanzheng 打冤家, 羅羅氏族間之戰爭 (Beating the Enermy: Wars among the Tribes of Luoluo)," *Bianzheng Gonglun* 边政公论, 1, 7-8 (1942): 80-88.

of the songs of ethnic men and women, also suggested that these non-Han songs were analogous with Western people's popular love songs for pleasure.[72] Dorothy Ko and Zheng Wang, in *Translating Feminisms in China*, suggested that "from its inception, feminism has been a global process wrought of transnational and local circulation of ideas and practice….local histories of feminism are of vital importance to our understanding of the interactions between the local and the global, and to our knowledge of the micro and macro processes that constitute modernity."[73] The case of the ethnic minorities of Yunnan and Guizhou best exemplifies the transnational and local circulation of feminism in China.

In her study of the women in the May Fourth Movement, Zheng Wang noted that it was part of the New Culturalists' anxious effort to push China toward modernity by discussing the Chinese 'woman problem' in Western terms. Wang cited a paper "*American Women*" presented by Hu Shi 胡適 (1891-1962) at the Beijing Women's Normal School. Hu proposed that Chinese women should emulate American women's self-reliance and get rid of their dependency, because American women strove to be free and independent human beings.[74] Carol Chin also notes that Chinese women activists in the early years of the twentieth century often looked abroad for inspiration and ideas from Japan, Europe and the United States. Many believed that women's rights were most advanced in America and least advanced in China.[75] Other scholars, such as Tani Barlow and Yung-Chen Chiang have suggested the importance of western influence: as important as nationalism, the global circulation of gender discourses was a powerful factor in constructing feminism in China.[76] The case of non-Han women in China also suggests that, in addition to Western models, Chinese intellectuals sought inspiration from non-Han societies. The stories of female government officials, and the tale of Qin Liangyu in particular, were popularised in modern China. In *Nüzi Zazhi* 女子雜誌 (Women's magazine), an anonymous author appealed:

> Our women are the toys of men. If one looks for an independent woman, she/he is impossible to find…… Now women in our country worship female heroes (feminists) of

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[72] Zeng Zhaolun 曾昭掄, "Dianchuan Liangqianli 滇川兩千里 (Two Thousand Miles In Yunnan and Sichuan)," *Guoli Xinan Lianhe Daxue Chuankang Kexue Kaochatuan Zhanlanhui Tekan* (1942).
[73] Dorothy Ko and Zheng Wang, "introduction," in *Translating Feminisms in China*, 1.
[74] Zheng Wang, *Women in the Chinese Enlightenment* (London: University of California Press, 1999), 50.
[75] Carol Chin, "Translating the New Woman: Chinese Feminists View in the West, 1905-15," in *Translating Feminisms in China*, 35-69. However, Chin also pointed out that the objective was neither merely to translate American feminism nor simply to imitate foreign models of modernity. Instead the goal was to turn a selective gaze on the lives of American women and to appropriate the images of those lives as part of the creation of their own identities as modern women.
[76] Tani Barlow, "Theorizing women: Funü, Guojia, Jiating," in *Body, Subject, and Power in China,* eds., Angela Zito and Tani Barlow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 253-289; Yung-Chen Chiang, "Womanhood, Motherhood and Biology: the Early Phases of the Ladies' Journal 1915-25," in *Translating Feminisms in China*, 70-103.

other countries. If I tell them the history of female heroes in Chinese history, (I believe) none of them would not feel surprised and delighted. So who is this female hero? She is Qin Liangyu.

吾國女子為男子之玩物， 欲求其能自立者， 邈不可得……今日女界日日崇拜他國之女豪傑， 反而求諸己國， 使一聆己國女豪傑之歷史， 未有不瞿然以驚瞿然以喜者， 女豪傑為誰，則秦良玉是也.[77]

Placed on the same level as Western feminists, Qin was regarded as a role model for Han Chinese women subordinated to Chinese men. In response to the feminist movement, the stories of a few female heroines in Imperial China, such as Hua Mulan, were refashioned in Republican China in new media. From the late Qing onwards, the stories of Qin Liangyu were adapted as novels, textbooks, prints, opera and films. For example, in Figure 1. 16 we see a publicity still from the film of Qin Liangyu's story, the lead played by the famous actress Chen Yunchang 陳雲裳 (1919-2016), who was also the leading actress in the film of *Hua Mulan*. Figure 1. 17 shows a poster for the Peking Opera production of Qin's story, performed by the well-known actor Shang Xiaoyun 尚小雲 (1900-1976). The stories of Qin's life were adapted as books, and illustrated as cartoons (Figure 1. 18), cosplayed by students (Figure 1. 19) and there were even exhibitions of relics pertaining to Qin.[78] The purposes behind the refashioning of the Qin tales were various, and included nationalism, their appeal as romantic love stories and as curiosities, but one of them pertains to feminism.

[77] Zhao Ying 昭英, "Qin Liangyu Zhuan 秦良玉傳 (Biography of Qin Liangyu)," *Nüzi Zazhi* 女子雜誌, 1 (1915): 1.

[78] Huang Cishu 黃次書, *Qin Liangyu* 秦良玉 (Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju, 1947); Anonymous, "Minzu Nüyingxiong Qin Liangyu Yiwu Zhan 民族女英雄秦良玉遺物展 (Exhibition on the Remains of National Heroine Qin Liangyu)," *Huaxi Xiehe Daxue Xiaokan* 華西協合大學校刊, 1, 15 (1944): 7.

Figure 1. 16, Yan Ciping 嚴次平, Photograph of "Chen Yunchang zai Xinpian 'Qin Liangyu' Zhong 陳雲裳在新片"秦良玉"中 (Chen Yunchang in New Film, "Qin Liangyu")," *Qingqing Dianying* 青青電影, 5, 4 (1940), 4.

Figure. 1. 17, Huang 黃, Photograph of "Shang Xiaoyun zhi Qin Liangyu Juzhao 尚小雲之秦良玉劇照 (Photo of Shang Xiaoyun in the drama *Qin Liangyu*)," *Xi Shijie Yuekan* 戲世界月刊, 1, 3 (1936).

Figure 1. 18, Anonymous, Illustration of "Minzu Nü Yingxiong Qin Liangyu Tushuo 民族女英雄秦良玉圖說 (Images of the Heroine Qin Liangyu)," *Xianxiang Zizhi* 縣鄉自治, 4, 9 (1934): 108.

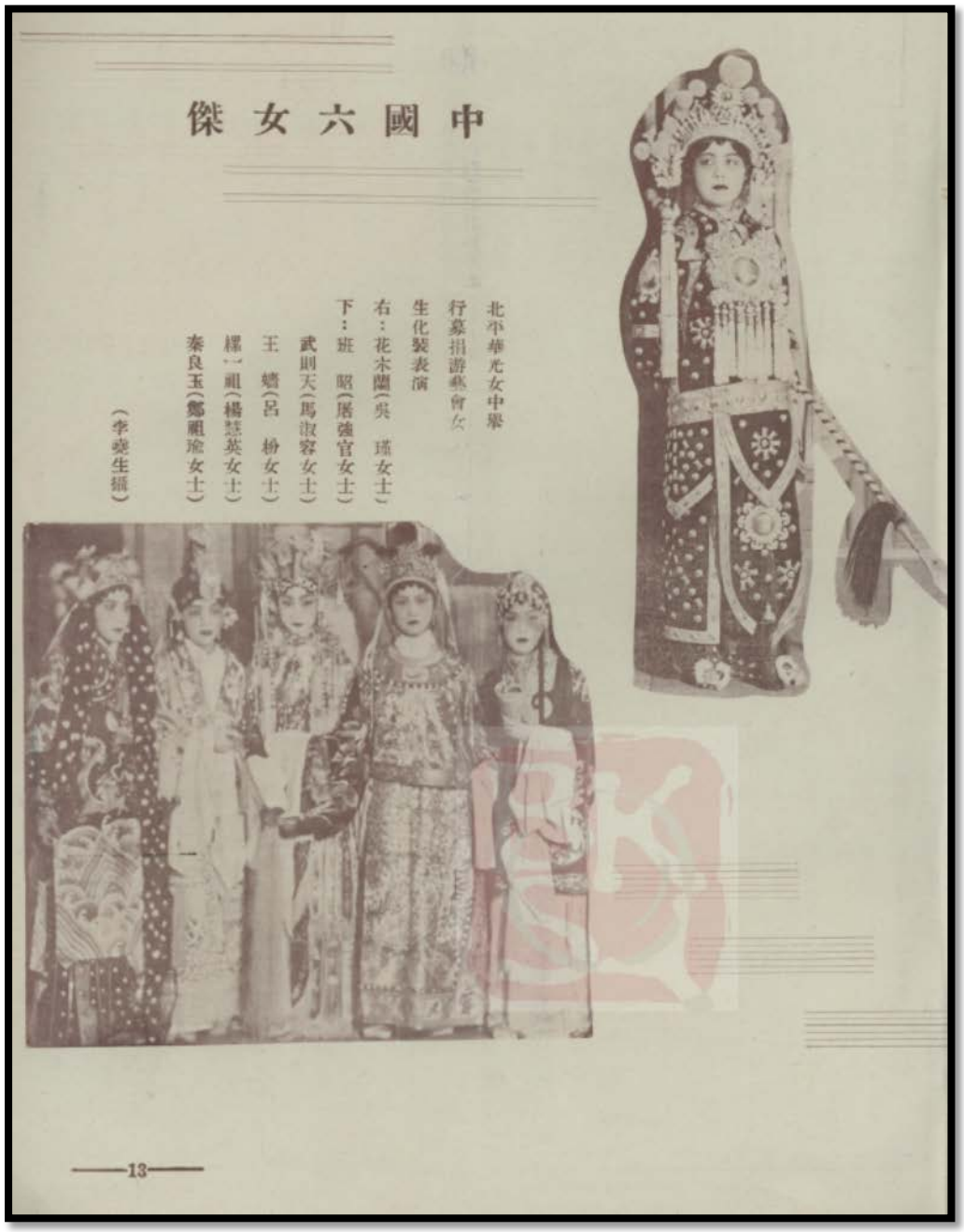

Figure 1. 19, Li Yaosheng 李堯生, Photography of "Zhongguo Liu Nüjie 中國六女傑 (Six Excellent Women of China)," *Qingdao Huabao* 青島畫報, 9 (1934): 13.

Beside such legends, the Republicans also linked feminism to the women from the families of local chieftains. Gao Yuzhu 高玉柱 (Figure 1. 20), the daughter of a local chieftain in Yunnan, visited Nanjing in the 1930s to persuade the Republican government to consider the political participation of ethnic minorities of Yunnan in Republican China. Invited to give speeches in women's societies and girls' schools, Gao was set up as an outstanding woman from whom many

other Chinese women should learn.[79] Thus in the global context, feminism was localised in China through links to "able" non-Han women. During her several visits in Shanghai, her speeches were reported in a few newspapers and periodicals and also commented by Republican contemporaries of different social backgrounds. Apart from feminism, her repletion also stimulated the discussions of how many nations China were supposed to have, and how to cultivate the southwest frontier.[80]

Figure 1. 20, Photograph of "Laijing Qingyuan Zhi Gao Yuzhu Nüshi 來京請願之西南夷民代表高玉柱女士 (Lady Gao Yuzhu, a representative of the ethnic groups in the Southwest, who came to Nanjing with a petition)," *Zhonghua* 中華, 50 (1937): 5.

[79] Mei 眉, "Shanghaishi Funü Xiejinghui Zhaodai Gao Yüzhu Nüshi Ji 上海市婦女協進會招待高玉柱女士記 (The Account of the Treatment of Miss Gao Yuzhu by the Society for Women's Progress in Shanghai)," *Funü Yuebao* 婦女月報,3, 3 (1937): 4-6; Yun 筠 "Yizu Tusi *Gao Yuzhu NüshiyYanjiang Shulue* 夷族土司高玉柱女士講演述略 (A Summary of the Speech by the Female Chieftain Miss Gao Yüzhu)," *Funü Xin Shenghuo Yuekan* 婦女新生活月刊, 2 (1936): 26-27.

[80] For more detailed discussions of Miss Gao in Shanghai, see: Lou Guiping **婁貴品**, "1937 Nian Xinan Yimiao Minzu Qingyuan Daibiao zai Hu Huodong Shulun---Yi *Shenbao* wei Zhongxing de Kaocha 1937 **年西南夷苗民族請願代表在滬活動述論——以《申報》為中心的考察** (The Repetition of Ethnic Minorities in the Southwest in Shanghai---the research based on *Shenbao*), *Minguo Dang'an* **民國檔案**, 2 (2010): 79-87; "Minzu Pingdeng yu Guozu Zhenghe: Quanmian Kangzhan Shiqi Xinan Yimiao Qingyuan Daibiao Huodong Lunshu **民族平等與國族整合: 全面抗戰時期西南夷苗請願代表活動述論** (The Equality and Union of Nations: Studies on the Activities of Repetition Committee of Ethnic Minorities in the Southwest during the Second Sino-Japanese War) ," *Xueshu Tansuo* **學術探索**, 4 (2016): 114-121.

The essentialness of work: "women question" and family status

In addition to interpreting non-Han women as feminist, the narrative of non-Han women's work also reflects several assumptions pertaining to women, status and nation. In the above article on Qin Liangyu, the author claimed, "our women are the toys of men. If one looks for an independent woman, it is impossible to find one." Han Chinese women were thus seen to lack independence. In another image of a group of Miao women (Figure 1. 21), in *Liangyou,* the festival costumes of the majority women were obviously not worn for work. Although the photograph has nothing to do with work and the costumes of the majority women were not for work, the caption to the images states:

> All Miao women are good at handling tasks, and they work (as well as) men. [They are] unlike our Han women who live depending on men.
> 苗婦中皆善操作，工作一如男子，不若我漢人婦女之徒倚賴男子為生活. [81]

Figure 1. 21, Liu Tizhi 劉體志, Photograph of "Guizhou Miaonü Xiezhen 貴州苗女寫眞 (Real Image of Miao Girls in Guizhou)," *Liangyou* 良友, 103 (1935): 19.

Again, Miao women as treated as a counterpart to Han Chinese women, who depended on men. Several scholars who specialise in gender history in modern China have realised that the so-called "women question" arose among male intellectuals, noting that women were regarded as a

[81] Liu, "Guizhou Miaonü Xiezhen," 19.

national problem in the 19th century, during the 'self-strengthening movement' in the 1860s and 1870s when officials sought to appropriate western military technology to bolster the Confucian socio-political order. Susan Mann also observes that the focus on women as a problem in China began suddenly with Liang Qichao's impassioned essay titled "Women's learning", published in 1896, which traces China's weakness in the world directly to problems with women.[82] With the growth of the May Fourth movement, concern over women's problems were raised to a new level.[83] Confucianism was attacked and western liberal concepts of human rights advocated in its place. The male New Culturalists loudly blamed women's oppression as symptomatic of a Confucian culture built on patriarchy.[84] Feminism emerged together with the rise of nationalism in the end of Qing, and many women activists regarded the Qing monarchy as the first obstacle to women's liberation.[85]

In her study of Chinese feminism, Tani Barlow also highlights how, from the late Qing onwards, reformers and revolutionists rationalised China's weakness by blaming women as a burden borne by the nation.[86] From the perspective of science, eugenic, and birth control theories, women were thought to require enlightenment from suffering an absence of human qualities, an underdeveloped grasp of personality, and a lack of standing in the human community.[87] Women were assumed to have a *Ren'ge* problem - women's personalities were regarded as deficient, and their labours were unproductive.[88] These concerns with women's independence and the importance of women's labour were clearly reflected in ethnography on the non-Han in the southwest.

In 1940, an author published an article under the pen-name A Hei 阿黑 in the magazine *Shanghai Funü* 上海婦女 (*Women in Shanghai*), introducing his or her travels in the Baiyi territory. He or she claimed that what interested him/her the most was the high status of Baiyi women in the family, and that this was because women were very productive.

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[82] Susan Mann, "Why Women Were Not a Problem in Nineteenth-Century Chinese Thought," in *Windows on the Chinese World: Reflections by Five Historians*, ed., Clara Ho (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009), 113-28.
[83] For a review of the study of women in the May Fourth movement, see Paul Bailey, *Women and Gender in Twentieth-century China* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 58-9. There is a rich literature on women and gender in twentieth century China; for reviews of current contributions, see: Gail Hershatter, *Women in China's Long Twentieth Century* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2007), and Bailey, *Women and Gender in Twentieth-century China.*
[84] Wang, *Women in the Chinese Enlightenment,* 12.
[85] Ibid, 36-44.
[86] Tani Barlow, *The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 50.
[87] Ibid, 71-8.
[88] Ibid, 117.

> Women not only work along with men for all the farm work, such as reclaiming wasteland for farming, cultivation and harvesting, but also work longer than men. When men act as hired labourers, hunting or transporting goods for others, they are incapable of doing the farm work. All of the farm tasks are thus handed to women, something which has already become a custom…… Women's burden is rather heavy, while they still need to do housework. Because they make a bigger contribution to society, this in turn raises their social status. In terms of economy, they are not only independent, but also possess inheritance rights, thus in most cases, after marriage men move to live with their bride's family.
>
> 這地方引起我極大的興趣是女子的地位很高，社會上的普遍現像是女子招贅，男出嫁……事實告訴我，她們的地位高是因為生產力強．擺夷羅羅等民族是以農業為主業的，無論開荒, 墾殖，耕種，收割，那兒婦女不但與男子同樣操作，而且工作時間比男子長．男人大都為人傭工，從事狩獵或為人運輸貨品，耕種的事情不能監管，就完全交給了婦女，這成了習慣．從上面看起來，知道她們擔負的工作是很重大的，她們還須負擔家事工作．因為她們對社會的貢獻大，社會地位也隨之增高，在經濟方面，她們不但能夠自立，而且有繼承權，所以大多數是男出嫁女子招贅了. [89]

The accuracy of A Hei's observation that men lived with their brides' families after marriage remains contested. The article is, however, a clear reflection of links made between women's status and economic contribution. Several new discourses, such as *shengchanli* 生產力 (productivity), *zili* 自立(self-independence) and *shehui diwei* 社會地位 (social status) are implied here, point distinguished the account from the ethnographic works in late imperial China. The dignity of labour is clearly taken very seriously when assessing the social worth of minority women and men. Many people of this period, in east and west, were interested in promoting women's equality, a key idea classically stated in Friedrich Engels' *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*: social equality depended upon the social recognition of women's labour.[90]

Many feminists in Republican China placed women's work at the core of feminism, as an author in *Linglong Funü Tuhua Zazhi* 玲瓏婦女圖畫雜誌 (*Pictorial Magazine for Women of Linglong*) vividly expressed,

> In terms of women's employment, it goes without saying that this is one aspect of the women's movement. If women work, they can achieve economic independence. This could

[89] A Hei 阿黑, "Baiyi Luoluo de Funü 擺夷羅羅的婦女 (Women of the ethnic group of Baiyi)," S*hanghai Funü* 上海婦女, 4, 4 (1940): 39-40.
[90] Friedrich Engels, *The Origin of the Family: Private Property and the State* (London; New York: International Publishers, 1942).

wash away the shame of being like a parasite and depending on men for thousands of years. Thus the women who work are pioneers of feminism. Their mission is both heavy and great…… Regarding those men who despise the work of women, we all should fight against them.

說到女子職業，不消說是女權運動的一種．女子從職業上的努力，可以獲得經濟的獨立，這樣可以一洗數千年來女子要仰賴男子供給的寄生蟲的恥辱．故從事職業界的婦女，不啻為女權運動的前驅，她們所負的使命既重且大……對蔑視職業女子的男子，我們是要一致反對的. [91]

In many other articles, the issues of women's work were addressed from the perspectives of the importance of equal rights to men, women's emancipation, law, and practical suggestions on how to balance domestic and social roles as both mother and worker.[92] The important role played by women's work in feminist thinking is a significant link to assumptions that the hard-working ethnic minority women in the southwest enjoyed high family status and greater independence

The last question with which this chapter is concerned relates to whether any of the above quotations on non-Han women originated from core feminists in Republican China. In a critique of orientalism's failure to consider gender, Reina Lewis's research has examined European women's active role in orientalism.[93] In the same vein, I also ask whether women participated in the writing of ethnography. Most of the Republican-era articles cited in this chapter were written by male authors, but some were composed under pen names. Were any of the writers behind these pseudonyms women? Some of those pen-names were indeed feminine, such as Mei 眉 (eyebrow), the author writing for *Funü Yuebao* 婦女月報 (*Monthly Newspaper for Women*).[94] In her study of the Republican women in *Funü Shibao*, Joan Judge has suggested it was a Republican publishing norm to hide the gender of writers, as it was common practice for men to assume female identities and write for women's journals. [95] Based on close horizontal readings of the journal, Judge is able to verify some female authors, estimating that "roughly 50 percent of the material in the journal, including poetry, was written by women in *Funü Shibao*." [96] Judge has highlighted the

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[91] Qiong 瓊, "Nüquan Yundong yu Funü Zhiye 女權運動與婦女職業 (Feminist Movement and Women's Enterprise)," *Linglong Funü Tuhua Zazhi* 玲瓏婦女圖畫雜誌, 4, 9 (1934): 516-7.

[92] Chen Jiyun 陳濟芸, "Nüzi Laodong Wenti 女子勞動問題 (Women's Question of Working)," *Funü Zazhi (Shanghai)* 婦女雜誌(上海), 16, 3 (1930): 1-5; Xia Zhun 夏敦, "Funü Zhiye Yu Laodong Wenti 婦女職業與勞動問題 (Questions on Women's Career and Work)," *Xin Nüxing* 新女性, 4, 2 (1929):70-79.

[93] Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism*, 3-5.

[94] Mei, "Shanghaishi Funü," 4-6.

[95] Joan Judge, *Republican Lens: Gender, Visuality, and Experience in the Early Chinese Periodical Press* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2016), 69-78.

[96] Ibid, 67

contributions of female authors, including students, professionals, and older cultured women in women's magazines. However, the sources of this dissertation were drawn from a number of periodicals, it was rather difficult to figure out the gender of some authors writing under pen-names. It seems that few women feminists of the time spoke particularly about gender roles among minorities. Commentary on this rather mainly reflected Chinese men's ideas on the 'women question'.

The inversed gender role and the pattern of "women work and men rule" were reinterpreted under several fashionable modern discourses, such as *nüquan* (feminism), *duli* (independence) and *ziyou* (freedom). One of the most obvious transformations is that the "masculine" women were highly admired, transformed from *nangui nüjian* to "much greater than men". This transformed interpretation is assigned to changes in Han culture from the late nineteenth century. The case of the ethnic minorities, as others, acted like a mirror, clearly reflecting issues of feminist movement, women's questions and the deconstruction of gender order, occurring among the Han Chinese.

Concluding remarks:

I started this chapter by probing a paradox of masculine traits among the supposedly effeminate ethnic minorities. Exposing the imbalance in literatures on masculinity and femininity in the studies of representation and imperial gender studies, this chapter argues masculinity is equal in significance to femininity, and a powerful tool in visualising the ethnic minorities of China's southwest borderlands. Echoing Kam Louie's appeal that interactions between Han and minority groups are essential for understanding how the concept of masculinity was constructed in imperial China,[97] this chapter has examined the remarkable roles of masculinity and femininity in the power relationships of Empire and the borderlands. The insights into different uses of masculinity and femininity and their complexity in different historical epochs have demonstrated the dynamics of gender, which should not be taken as fixed, as Joan Scott reminds us with regard to current problems in gender studies.[98] Echoing Scott, this chapter has cautiously scrutinised the processes of engendering ethnic minorities in certain historical contexts, criticising the traditional framework of assuming the masculinity of the powerful and the effeminacy of the weak, and complicating the current analytical paradigm of gender and ethnicity.

[97] Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity*, 7.
[98] Joan Scott, "Gender: still a useful category of analysis?," *Diogenes*, 57, 1 (2010): 7-14.

In our analysis of images of women with reversed gender roles in Miao albums, space was one crucial aspect with which Han Chinese observers were concerned. For the Han Chinese woman, her interior space stood for higher family status, respect and freedom. Accordingly, the ethnic women's engagement in outside space signified their backwardness and diligent women working outside were seen as reduced in status. The history of non-Han women and the history of the representation of non-Han women are two quite different questions. Scholars' frequent arguments that ethnic minority women were privileged with higher status than the 'oppressed' Han Chinese women through reference to sources representing the non-Han is very problematic. In fact, the factors contributing to this assumed "higher status" among ethnic minority women represented in Miao albums and other travel narratives were deployed due to their understanding as signs of humble and minor status, according to the Han criterion of late imperial China in which their recorders operated.

Turning to Republican China, the diligent ethnic minority women were intriguingly reinterpreted as China's domestic feminists, admired with great respect, since they fit into several criteria of the idealised new women who could work outside, were economically independent, and made economic contributions to the nation. In her study of minority dance in the early years of the People's Republic, Emily Wilcox observes that rather than portraying minorities as exotic, erotic, and primitive, early PRC dance constructed minorities as models of cultural sophistication, civility, and respectability and the Han and minority dance was constructed as parallel modes of ethnic performance categorised together as a new genre, "Chinese folk dance." [99] She points out that the categorisation of the dances of ethnic minorities does not fit into the interpretive framework of "internal Orientalism", instead being classified as folkdance, equal to other dances among the Han Chinese population. [100] Ethnic minority women in Republican China were also admired, which echoes Wilcox alerting us to the danger of generalising the explanatory framework of "internal Orientalism".

Not only this chapter, but the whole dissertation, asserts that it is wrong to generalise imperial interpretation frameworks. In *Gender and Empire*, Philippa Levine has reminded us that "invoking gender as a significant historical consideration by no means presupposes that experiences of colonial practice were common to all women and men. Equally important is emphasizing the rejection of universalist explanations."[101] Following Levine, the examination of the late imperial Chinese context and the Republican feminist trajectory in this chapter has exposed the dynamics

[99] Emily Wilcox, "Beyond Internal Orientalism: Dance and Nationality Discourse in the Early People's Republic of China, 1949–1954," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, (2016): 363-386.
[100] Ibid. 378-381.
[101] Levine, "Introduction: Why Gender and Empire?," 2.

of the mutual constitutions of gender and Empire, demonstrating that a universal explanatory framework of gender does not exist.

This new discovery of associations between ethnic minority women and feminism is significant for our understanding of the localisation of the imported idea of feminism in modern China. In addition to inspiration sought from Europe, America, and Japan, the ethnic minorities of Yunnan and Guizhou offered another source. Contrasted against the "able" ethnic minority women, their men were despised as lazy and squeezed out of imagery representing the non-Han, providing a very specific response to questions of the feminisation of ethnic minorities in modern China. In analogy to the European imperial gender regimes, the connotations of gender constructed through the masculinity and femininity of women's space and work in late imperial China and the feminist movement in modern China, all feature Chinese ways of imperial engagement with gender and images.

In recent years, the drama of *Yunnan Yinxiang* 雲南印象 (Impression of Yunnan), composed by Yang Liping 楊麗萍, a well-known Yunnanese dancer, has attracted people all around China and foreign travellers. It is composed of a series of dances, and one of which is *Nü'er Guo* 女兒國 (Country of Women). Part of the lyrics goes:

> 太陽歇歇麼, 歇得呢. If the sun wants a rest, he can have it.
> 月亮歇歇麼, 歇得呢. If the moon wants a rest, he can have it.
> 女人歇歇麼, 歇不得. If woman wants a rest, she cannot have it.
> 女人歇下來麼, 火塘會熄掉呢. If woman rested, the fire at the fireplace would be cut off.
>
> 冷風吹著老人的頭麼, If a cold wind blows the head of the old,
> 女人拿脊背去門縫上抵著. Woman puts her back against the crack of the door.
> 刺棵戳著娃娃的腳麼, If a thorn stabbed a child's foot,
> 女人拿心肝去山路上墊著. Woman would pave the mountain route with her heart and liver.

The above lyrics of *Nü'er Guo* recall to us the diligent ethnic women in the Miao albums and photography, while such masculine traits must have received new interpretations in contemporary China according to its new gender order. The investigation of masculine traits among ethnic minorities in late imperial and Republican China are important in enabling us to see where these aspects of masculinity and femininity were rooted. Gender indeed matters and could be a more useful analytical category if we consider its conjunctions with other categories, such as empire, ethnicity and visual studies.

Chapter Two: Dancing in the moonlight: fashioning sexuality of non-Han people

> The country of Dian does not have rites……Virgins and widows have to chase their partner first, then get married.
> 本名滇國，俗無禮儀……處子孀婦必先竊耦，而後成婚.[1]

> This custom of *Fangye* is rather popular among the Miao. Obviously they do not have the conscience of monogamy and the problem of chastity. The custom of Miao and Yao is not to value virginity; this symbolises sexual freedom. In *Miaofang Beilan* (a late Qing ethnographic book), it is claimed that when a virgin has sexual intercourse with men, her parents usually know of it, but would not prevent it. By contrast, the parents are (proud) that all others love the beauty of their daughter. If a couple cannot bear a child, then the husband would abandon his wife, marrying someone else. Simultaneously, the wife also abandons her husband, copulating with others. From the point of view of most people, this is absolutely ridiculous. However, this is one of the important processes justifying marriage.
>
> 這種放野在苗族是很通行，可見他們並沒有一夫一妻的觀念，貞操的問題．苗傜之俗，不重處女，更是性自由的表徵．苗防備覽雲其處女與人通者，父母知而不禁，反以為人愛其美．夫婦不相得，則夫棄其妻而別娶，妻棄其夫而別通．依一般人得眼光看來就是匪夷所思了．然而這卻是婚姻成立的程式之一.[2]

The conventions of sexuality developed under Neo-Confucian influence and the overwhelming popularity of chastity regulations and the chastity cult in late imperial China makes sexuality a powerful tool for conceptualising and visualising the ethnic minorities in the southwest who had different sexual regulations and marriage customs. Scenes containing an element of sexuality, in particular those relating to sexual taboos in Han Chinese orthodox culture, such as depictions of the naked female body and of copulation, are to be found in Miao albums. The images alluding to non-Han marriage

[1] Mao Qiling 毛奇齡, *Mansi Hezhi* 蠻司合志 (*Collective Studies of Barbarian Tributary Officials*), vol 8 (Online Catalogueof Chinese Basic Classics), 53.
[2] Yu Yongliang 余永梁, "Xinan Minzu de Hunyin 西南民族的婚姻 (Marriage of the Races in the Southwest)," *Guoli Zhongshan Daxue Yuyan Lishixue Yanjiusuo Zhoukan* 國立中山大學語言歷史學研究所週刊, 3, 35/36 (1928): 1-10 (8).

customs, such as *Tiaoyue* 跳月 (dancing in the moonlight), which manifest tremendous differences from Confucian marriage rites and procedures, are pervasive among Miao albums. The popularity of such genres pertaining to intimacy, sexuality and marriage customs in Miao albums and their later reconfigurations with reference to free love, free sex and free divorce, make sexuality a significant dimension that cannot be ignored when exploring the grammar of visualising and conceptualising ethnic minorities. This chapter seeks to identify Chinese ways of sexualising the non-Han in the southwest within the context of the mutual constitutions of sexuality and imperialism, a discipline that has been developing since the 1990s.

In his review chapter on the development of research on sexuality and imperialism, Robert Aldrich observes, "two decades ago, sex had hardly been a topic in imperial history and indeed, many would have regarded it as irrelevant or inappropriate to the great questions of scholarship. Few eminent colonial historians took prolonged gazes, or even quick peeks, into the history of sexuality."[3] The situation has, however, changed markedly since Hyam's publication of *Empire and Sexuality: the British Experience*, in which he examines how race relations in the British Empire were affected by sexual attitudes and practices.[4] Drawing on colonial expansion in Africa and India, Hyam argues that the expansion of empire was not only a matter of Christianity and commerce, but also a matter of copulation and the ample opportunities for indulgence in sexual activities.[5]

The seminal work *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* by Ann Laura Stoler is another important monograph concerning sexuality in a colonial context, giving space to new and more interesting issues concerning domesticity and the government of the intimate in the colonial past.[6] Taking an approach based on a Foucauldian framing of colonial bio-power, Stoler interrogates how equality

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[3] Robert Aldrich, "Sex Matters: Sexuality and the Writing of Colonial History," in *Writing Imperial Histories*, ed., Andrew Thompson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 74-99.

[4] Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: the British Experience* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

[5] Hyam's pioneering contribution in taking sexuality seriously in Imperialism studies is remarkable, but it should be noted that several aspects of his monograph have been criticised by numerous historians for its refusal to place the study of sexual behaviour within a wider context of gender seen as a relation of power. See: David Fieldhouse, "The British Experience by Ronald Hyam," *The English Historical Review*, 109 (1994): 512 - 513; Margaret Strobel, "Sex and Work in the British Empire," *Radical History Review*, 54 (1992): 177- 186.

[6] Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Gender, Race and Morality in Colonial World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 1-21.

was managed, how racial categories were produced, and why connections between parenting and colonial power, between nursing mothers and cultural boundaries, between servants and sentiments, and between illicit sex, orphans, and race, emerge as central concerns of the state and of colonial politics.[7] Arguably, as a significant contributor, the role of sexuality is substantial in creating colonial orders.

In an anthology exploring the history of body and sexuality, Jonathan Burton demonstrates the important role of sexuality, together with several other factors, in racial classifications: "no single idea about race dominated early modern European thinking. Certainly identities were claimed, adjusted, disavowed, and imposed on the basis of skin color, but early modern forms of racial difference also existed in relation to questions of religion, diet, nationality, lineage, human nature, the human body, and of course sexuality." The observations of sexual "others" are woven, in a variety of increasingly radicalised ways, into the fabric of human difference.[8] In another anthology on the cultural history of sexuality in nineteenth-century Britain, Ruth Ford's chapter on the global circulation of pornography explores ways in which colonialism provided new erotic imagery from Asian and Pacific colonies.[9]

Over the past decades, literature concerning sexual encounters between European and non-European have been growing; in Robert Aldrich's summary, current scholarship on sexuality and imperialism has developed in three main areas: sexualised images and stereotypes in various genres and media; masculinity and sexuality in the armed forces; and finally sexual behaviour by British men and women and colonised peoples.[10] Based on images alluding to sexuality in late Imperial and Republican China, this chapter examines Chinese ways of dealing with the intersections of image, sexuality, imperial order and colonial encounter. As Burton points out, in *History of Sexuality,* Michel Foucault has little to say about sexual acts and identities outside of Europe, and current scholarship still primarily concentrates on British imperial experiences of sexual

[7] Ibid, 2; 8.
[8] Jonathan Burton, "Bodies, Sex and Race: Western Encounters with Sex and Bodies in Non-European Cultures 1500 – 1750," in *The Routledge History of Sex and the Body 1500 to the Present*, eds., Sarah Toulalan and Kate Fisher (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 495-510 (507).
[9] Ruth Ford, "Erotica: Sexual Imagery, Empires, and Colonies," in *Cultural History of Sexuality in the Age of Empire*, eds., Chiara Beccalossi and Ivan Crozier (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 171-198.
[10] Aldrich, "Sex Matters," 85.

encounter.[11] This chapter asks how well such Eurocentric theories of sex and power translate into other historical and political contexts, such as the Chinese empire. Evidently, similar to the European experience, sexuality was a powerful and useful tool for the Chinese Empire. Yet I argue that the notions and discourses of virtue, chastity and rites embedded in the daily culture of late imperial China and its later reconfiguration and social reform of sexuality and modernity all make Chinese imperial engagement with sexuality distinct from European imperial models.

The study of the history of sexuality in China is also a growing academic area over the last few decades among both European and Chinese scholars.[12] Although criticised as a work conducted through an orientalist gaze, Robert Hans van Gulik's *Sexual Life in Ancient China* is one of the classic monographs introducing sexual life in China.[13] From the disciplines of medical history, social and cultural regulation and theorising of sexuality and sex differences, scholars have offered us insights into sexual culture, reproduction, prostitutes, sex workers and homosexuality in Chinese history.[14]

With specific reference to sexuality and ethnic minorities, there are some works focusing on contemporary China. For example, Sandra Hyde reveals that in the rural Dai minority area of Xishuangbana, Yunnan, Han prostitutes from Sichuan and Guizhou dress

[11] Burton, "Bodies, Sex and Race," 505-9.

[12] For some works pertaining to the history of sexuality among Chinese scholars, see: Jiang Xiaoyuan 江曉原, *Yunyu: Xing Zhangli xia de Zhongguo Ren* 雲雨: 性張力下的中國人 (*Clouds and Rain: The Chinese People Under Sexual Tension*) (Shanghai: Dongfang chuban zhongxin, 2005); Liu Dalin 劉達臨, *Xing de Lishi* 性的歷史 (*The History of Sexuality*) (Taipei: Commercial Press Taiwan, 2001); Pan Suiming 潘綏銘 *Zhongguo Xing Xianzhuang* 中國性現狀 (*The Current Situation of Sex in China*) (Beijing: Guangming Ribao Chubanshe, 1995).

[13] Gulik, *Sexual Life in Ancient China*; Charlotte Furth, "Rethinking Van Gulik: Sexuality and Reproduction in Traditional Chinese Medicine," in *Engendering China: Women, Culture and the State,* ed., Christina Gilmartin (Cambridge, Mass.; London, Harvard University Press, 1994), 125-146.

[14] Elaine Jeffreys, *Sex and Sexuality in China* (London, New York: Routledge, 2006); Harriet Evans, *Women and Sexuality in China* (New York: Continuum, 1997); Sue Gronewold, *Beautiful Merchandise: Prostitution in China,1860-1936* (New York: Haworth Press, 1982); Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Regulating Sex in Shanghai* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Tiantian Zheng, *Red Lights: The Lives of Sex Workers in Postsocialist China* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); Howard Chiang, *Queer Sinophone Cultures* (New York: Routledge, 2014); Howard Chiang, "Why sex mattered: Science and visions of transformation in modern China," (Ph.D. Diss., University of Princeton, 2012); Ting Guo, "Translating Homosexuality into Chinese: a Case study of Pan Guangdan's Translation of Havelock Ellis' Psychology of Sex: A Manual for Students (1933)," A*sia Pacific Translation and Intercultural Studies*, 3, 1 (2016): 47-61.

like Dai women in order to enhance their erotic allure to visiting Han businessmen.[15] Focusing on the Mosuo, an ethnic group in West Yunnan, known as a country of women by Han Chinese, Christina Mathieu uncovers Han views of Mosuo sexuality as simultaneously alluring, dirty and primitive.[16] Eileen Walsh also explores the Mosuo engagement with ethnic tourism by considering sexuality.[17] The anthropologist Louisa Schein demonstrates how the Miao were represented as exotic, erotic, irreducibly rural and prototypically female, by cosmopolitan Han Chinese in the 1980s.[18] Cherlene Makeley also explored the "erotics of the exotic" in regard to Sino-Tibetan women.[19] The eroticisation of ethnic minorities in the PRC is thus widely applied to China's various ethnic minorities, including the Mosuo, Dai, Miao and Tibetan peoples.

Literature on sexuality and race/ethnicity, or sexuality and the imperial regime in China before the PRC is, however, still relatively scarce. The role of sexuality in representing the non-Han is only mentioned briefly in some important works pertaining to the history of ethnic minorities in late imperial China, including Giersch's investigation of Yunnan, Julian Ward's engagement with Xu Xiake's Ming-era account of travel in West Yunnan, and Norma Diamond's examination of Han fantasies of Miao women and poison.[20] Although all of them have emphasized the instrumental role of sexuality in their analysis of ethnic minorities in late imperial China, none offers a deep and detailed examination. For example, the sexuality of widows and virgins is particularly significant to narratives of non-Han sexuality, but this has barely been noted in existing scholarship. Nevertheless, this is crucial for our understanding of Chinese ways of imperial engagement with sexuality.

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[15] Sandra Hyde, "Sex Tourism Practices on the Periphery: Eroticizing Ethnicity and Pathologizing Sex on the Lancang in China urban: Ethnographies of Contemporary Culture," in *China Urban: Ethnographies of Contemporary Culture,* ed., Nancy Chen (London: Duke University Press, 2001), 333-348.

[16] Christine Mathieu, "History and Other Metaphors in Chinese-Mosuo Relations since 1956," in *Dress, Sex and Text in Chinese Culture*, eds., Antonia Finnane and Anne McLaren (Clayton, Vic.: Monash Asia Institute, 1999), 81-105.

[17] Eileen Walsh, "From Nü Guo to Nü'er Guo: Negotiating Desire in the Land of the Mosuo," *Modern China,* 31, 4 (2005): 448-486.

[18] Schein, *Minority Rules*, 1-17.

[19] Charlene Makley, "On the Edge of Respectability: Sexual Politics in China's Tibet Positions," *East Asia Cultures Critique,* 10, 3 (2002): 575-630.

[20] Giersch, *Asian Boderlands,* 75; Norma Diamond, "The Miao and Poison: Interactions on China's Southwest Frontier," *Ethnology*, 27, 1 (1988): 1-25; Julian Ward, *Xu Xiake (1587-1641): The Art of Travel Writing* (Richmond: Curzon, 2001), 133-134.

Exceptionally, the role of sexuality in colonial encounter is highlighted by Susan Mann in the introduction to her aforementioned monograph. Mann argues that "in colonial encounters, then, sex and gender roles become a powerful proxy for who 'we' or 'they' really are: 'we' are normal, 'they' are perverse or exotic."[21] Echoing Mann's appeal, this chapter interrogates the manipulation of sexuality to visualise the non-Han in late imperial China. Challenging our traditional understanding of nudity and nakedness in Chinese visual culture, it demonstrates how the sexual regulations of widows and virgins affect the ethnographic narratives of non-Han people and their marriage customs. Moreover, the intersection between sexuality and ethnicity in early twentieth-century China has not yet received sufficient scholarly attention. In the first half of the twentieth century, sexuality among the ethnic minorities in the southwest of China was reinterpreted within the framework of imported discourses such as free love and free sex, as a popular theme, receiving widespread coverage in newspapers and periodicals. Bridging gaps in the study of the sexualisation of non-Han subjects in Republican China, this chapter examines the reconfiguration of sexual regulation among Han Chinese male revolutionaries, intellectuals and activists, reflected through ethnographic writing and imagery.

Although the late imperial and modern Chinese imperial engagement with sexuality is an area that remains barely explored, sources pertaining to the sexuality of ethnic minorities written by Han Chinese are quite rich. Delving into the documents from China's long history which includes sections recording ethnic minorities, such as the fifth-century *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 and tenth-century *Taiping Yulan* 太平禦覽, sexuality seems to be among the primary interests of Han Chinese historians, and it is clearly more frequently recorded than many other aspects of society.[22] China indeed has a long

[21] Mann, *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Chinese History*, 173.

[22] As early as the fifth century, in the Xinanyi Liezhuan 西南夷列傳 (Biography of the Southwest Barbarians) section of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, Fan Ye recorded that, "there are green chickens and golden horses in the Yutong mountains of Qingling County, they often appear in good scenery and time. They like to loaf about, and sing, and are similar to the Zangke. They are bold and unconstrained and self-indulgent. It is difficult to control [them]. 青蛉縣禺同山有碧雞金馬, 光景時時出見. 俗多遊蕩, 而喜謳歌, 略與牂柯相類. 豪帥放縱, 難得制禦." See Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (*Book of the Later Han*), (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1965), vol. 86, 2852. The sections on ethnic minorities in the Song dynasty work *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽 (*Imperial Encyclopedia of Peace*), records that the Weipu 尾濮, in Yongcang County "All meet freely in the wild, having no marriage ceremony. They only know who the mother is, but make no distinction about the father 各隨宜野會, 無有嫁娶. 猶知識母, 不復別父." See Li Fang 李昉, *Taiping Yulan* 太平御览 (*Imperial Encyclopedia of Peace*) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1960), vol.791, 3308.

tradition of eroticising the non-Han, a tradition which was popularised in the late imperial period. Travel narratives, the Miao albums and the Republican popular periodicals all provide intriguing sources for this chapter's analysis of a visual grammar of sexuality.

Naked female bodies: images of the *Duanqun Miao* and *Shuibai Yi*

Although nudity was absent from traditional Chinese art and the nude was a new art form in China, influenced by European artistic traditions emerging in the late Qing and Republican periods,[23] it is important to note that there were some images depicting the naked female body. Based on the scrutiny of *Meiren hua* (a genre of paintings of beautiful ladies), for example, James Cahill argues that although "the female nude was never a separate genre in China, as it was in European painting, a Chinese ideal of female corporeal beauty and sexiness did exist".[24] Both "nudity" and "nakedness" are translated as *luo* 裸 in Chinese, but bear different meanings in European art. According to Kenneth Clark, "to be naked is to be deprived of our clothes, and the word implies some of the embarrassment most of us feel in that condition. The word "nude," on the other hand, carries, in educated usage, no uncomfortable overtone."[25] In my discussion of the images of Miao women, 'nakedness' is a better translation of the Chinese word *luo*, since the artists of the Miao albums tried to create a sense of embarrassment around images featuring the naked female body. When added to the naked women depicted in *Meiren hua,* the imagery of the Miao albums provides new dimensions to our understanding of the representation of the body in Chinese visual culture.

Naked women appeared in two popular scenes in Miao albums. One of these shows the *Duanqun Miao* 短裙苗 (short-skirt Miao) of Guizhou at work and the other the *Shui*

[23] Yingjin Zhang, "Artwork, Commodity, Event: Representations of the Female Body in Modern Chinese Pictorials," and Carrie Waara "The Bare Truth: Nudes, Sex, and the Modernization project in Shanghai Pictorials," both in *Visual Culture in Shanghai 1850s-1930s,* ed., Jason Kuo (Washington, DC: New Academia Publishing, 2007), 121-162 and 163-197; Liying Sun, "An Exotic Self? Tracing Cultural Flows of Western Nudes in Pei-yang Pictorial News (1926-1933)," in *Transcultural Turbulences*, eds., Christiane Brosius and Roland Wenzlhuemer (Berlin; Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag, 2011), 271-300.
[24] James Cahill, *Pictures for Use and Pleasure: Vernacular Painting in High Qing China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 191.
[25] Kenneth Clark, *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form* (Princeton: Pinceton University Press, 1971), 3.

Baiyi 水百夷 of Yunnan bathing in a river.[26] The length of the Duanqun Miao skirt varies in images; some may reach to the knees, but others might be extremely short, just covering the hip. For example, in Figure 2. 1, a Duanqun Miao image in the collections of the British Library, two Miao women stand with hoes and two Miao men squat to eat. The skirts of these two Miao women are indeed short. The text on the left reports: "women use one floral cloth to cover (the body), and it reaches the shin 婦女用花布一幅横掩及骭." The text and the image obviously contradict one another: rather than reaching the shin, the skirt in the image just reaches the very top of the thigh, only covering the hip. The breasts of the woman holding a hoe over the shoulder are deliberately exposed and the belly of the woman next to her is also visible.

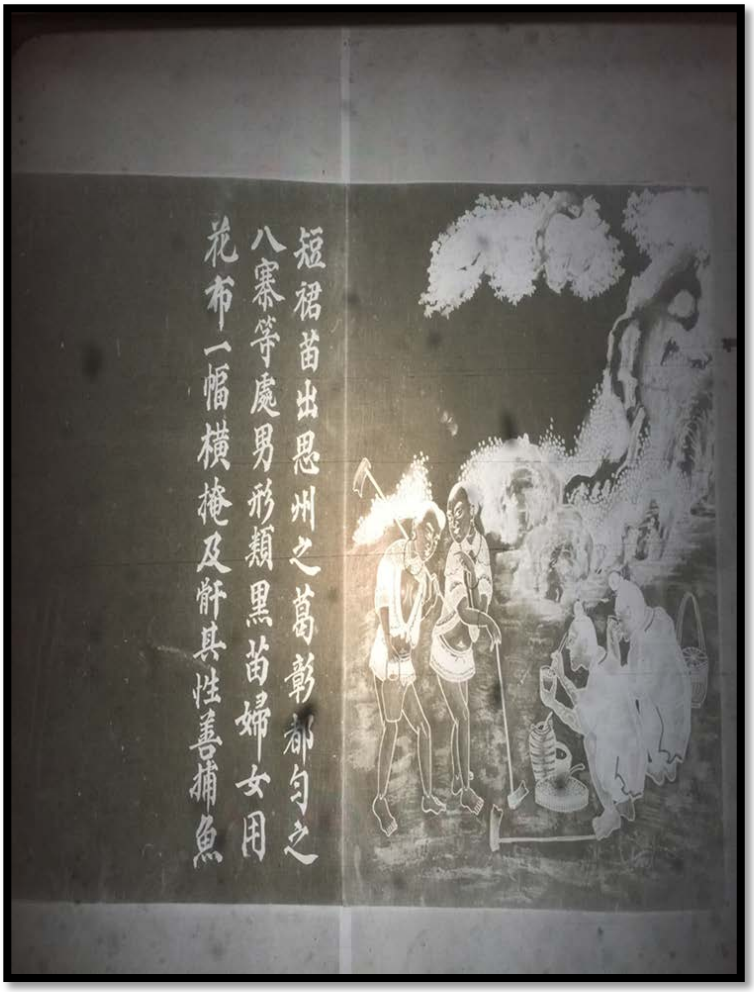

Figure 2. 1, Anonymous, "Duan Qunmiao 短裙苗," in an album of *Guizhou Quanqian Miaotu* 贵州全黔苗图 (of 40 album leaves), undated, British Library, London. (Or 13504) (microfilm)

[26] The Shui Baiyi are officially recognised as Dai 傣 in the PRC.

Similarly, In another image of Duanquan Miao (Figure 2.2) held by the Pitt Rivers Museum, a group of Miao walk in the mountains bearing baskets of grass on their backs. The two women on the right (enlarged) image also wear extremely short skirts. The accompanying text states that "women's clothing does not have sleeves. The front part of the garment does not reach the belly, and the back part does not even cover the waist. They do not wear trousers and the length of their skirt is five inches with many small and thick pleats. Such skirts can only cover their shame." The skirt in the image is much shorter than that described in the text. We see the black underwear of the Miao woman on the left and even the exposed private parts of the woman on the right. Moreover, in another image of Duan Qunmiao in *Miaoman Tushuo* 苗蠻圖說 (Figure 2. 3), in the collections of the Harvard-Yenching Library, we see a group of Miao women, some of whom are sitting on the ground and others standing; a Miao man on the right, seemingly walking away, turns his eyes towards the group of women. All of their skirts are very short, and two among them are extremely so. It seems that a Miao woman with a basket and wearing a very short skirt is a standard icon for images of the Duanqun Miao across several Miao albums. This is an element of visual grammar that is central to this thesis's exploration.

Figure 2.2 a

Figure 2. 2 b, Anonymous, “Duan Qunmiao 短裙苗, ” in an untitled album, undated, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. (2. 2b is the enlarged image of the two figures on the right of 2.2a)

Figure 2. 3, "Duanquan Miao 短裙苗, " in an album of *Miaoman Tushuo* 苗蠻圖□ (of 41 album leaves), undated, Harvard-Yenching Library.

These scenes share several common features. Firstly, women's skirts are extremely short, much shorter than those described in the text. Secondly, the extremely short skirt deliberately leaves the women's bodies naked, exposing even the breasts and private parts. Thirdly, the presence of both women and men in the images sets the naked female body in a public scene. The Duanqun Miao case here is a good example of the tensions between text and image. The power of representing the Miao being generated primarily through images of the naked female body makes clear the benefits to investigating images

as historical evidence.

In addition to the Duanqun Miao, images of the Shui Baiyi also contain naked women. One scene (Figure 2. 4) from the album of *Yiren Tushuo Mulu* depicts three Shui Baiyi women bathing in the river while two men pass by; one of the men looks towards the bathers. The first woman, the front of whose body faces the audience, holds a child on her back, part of her body being covered by the straps of the baby carrier. A second woman, to the left of the first, turns her side towards the audience and holds a towel around her neck; her breast is exposed. The third woman has her back to the viewer and also holds a bath towel around her neck. She is very thin, and her ribs are visible.

Fig. 2. 4, Li Gu 李沽, "*Shui Baiyi* 水百彝," in an album of *Yiren Tushuo Mulu* 夷人图说目录 (of 108 album leaves), 1818, Library of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing.

Similar scenes of Shui Baiyi bathing can be found in many other albums, including *Diansheng Yixi Yinan Yiren Tushuo* held in the Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig (Figure 2. 5), *Yunnan Yingzhi Miaoman Tuce* at the Wellcome Trust, London (Figure 2. 6) and

Yunnan Sanyi Baiman Tu Quanbu in the Bodleian library, Oxford (Figure 2. 7). In addition to these album leaves, a painting of a Baiyi bathing scene preserved in the Museum of Yunnan also shares a similar composition with men on the riverside watching women bathing in the river; the women's legs are deep in the river, and their upper bodies are entirely naked.[27] It seems such bathing scenes featuring the naked female body are another part of the visual grammar of depicting the non-Han subject in both official and commercial sources.

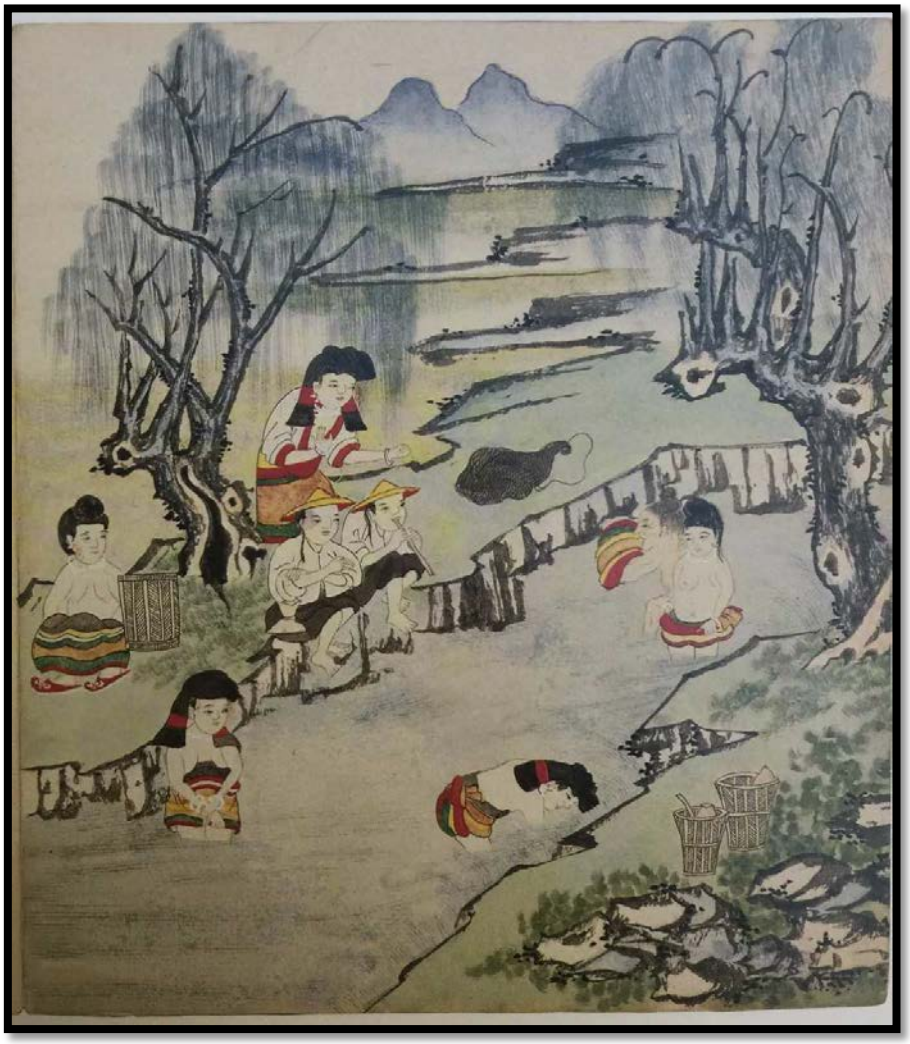

Figure 2. 5, He Changgeng 贺长庚, "Shui Baiyi 水摆夷," in an album of *Yixi Yinan Yiren Tushuo* 滇省迤西迤南夷人图说 (of 44 album leaves), 1788, Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Leipzig.

[27] Xiong Lifen 熊丽芬, "Yunnansheng Bowuguan Cang Mingqing Shaoshu Minzu Huihua 雲南省博物館藏明清少數民族繪畫 (Ethnographic Paintings of the Ming and Qing Dynasty Preserved in the Museum of Yunnan)," *Shoucang Jia* 收藏家, 2012 (6): 47-52 (48).

Figure 2. 6, Zhao Jiuzhou, "Shui Baiyi 水擺衣," in an album of *Yunnan Yingzhi Miaoman Tuce* 雲南營制苗蠻圖冊, undated (before 1820), Wellcome Trust Collection, London.

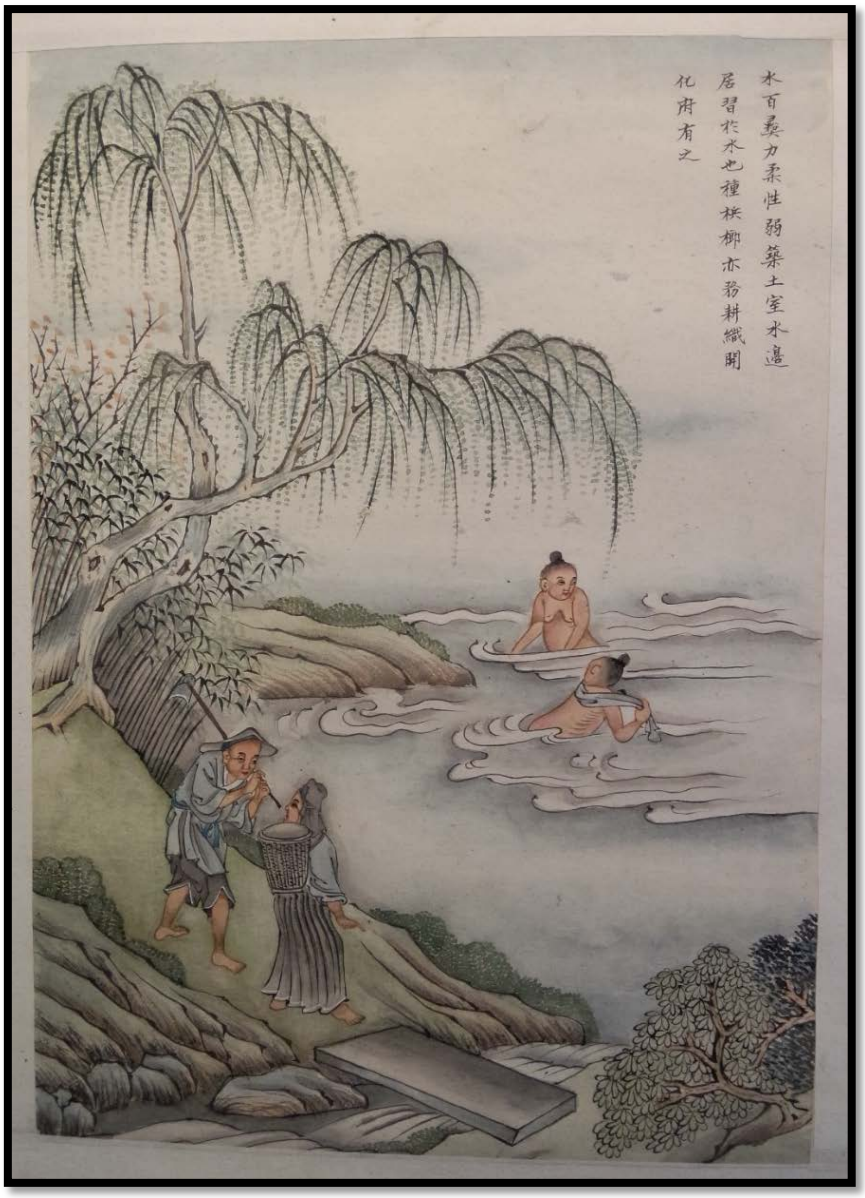

Figure 2. 7, "Shui Baiyi 水百彝," in an album of *Yunan Sanyi Baiman Tu Quanbu* 雲南三迤百蠻圖全部, Bodleian library, Oxford.

In order to understand the power of representations of the naked non-Han female body, it is essential to understand the visual culture of the body among Han Chinese. Several art historians have observed that the nude body was not a separate genre, especially when compared to its status in European art. In responding to this question, the works of two scholars, John Hay and Francois Jullien, are significant. From the perspective of how the body was understood in Chinese culture, Hay asserts that the body is invisible in Chinese art, being "dispersed through metaphors locating it in the natural world by transportational resonance and brushwork that embodied the cosmic-human

reality of qi, or energy".[28] In Chinese culture, the human body is privileged as the living nexus of *qi*.[29] Thus, the representation of the body in Chinese art becomes a question of how to represent *qi*, and clothing turns out to be more useful in this regard than flesh.[30]

Jullien also claims that nudity was an impossibility in Chinese visual art. He notes some of the naked bodies in erotic paintings, but argues that when bodies appear in the nude form, these were depicted as "formless, neither clearly stylized nor anatomically accurate". He wonders, why Chinese artists were less interested in the human body, while material cultures were depicted in more details.[31] Approaching these questions, Jullien has probed the conceptualisation of the body from the perspective of the unique Chinese system of philosophy and anatomy. [32] Both Hay and Jullien's observations and investigations of the general absence of nudity in Chinese art are convincing and fascinating, but the attention paid to some images of nakedness should also not be ignored.

An equally important question is in what context women's bodies were depicted naked. Like Cahill's observation of female courtesans' nakedness in *Meiren Hua*, I have shown the nakedness of Duanqun Miao and Shuibai Yi women's bodies in the images above.[33] One of the principal questions concerned here is why images of naked women were rationalised when placed in an erotic or ethnographic context. This chapter suggests that the revelation of the naked images of Miao albums actually does not contradict John Hay and Francois Jullien's discussion of the "impossible nude" in Chinese art. Their works instead strengthen the argument of this chapter. Largely, the non-Han in the southwest borderland were eroticized through the representation of these images with women's naked body. The art and power of representation lay in portraying cultural taboos. This unique visual culture of body is crucial for our understanding of Chinese ways of imperial engagement with gender, body and sexuality. In the next section, I turn to another popular

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[28] John Hay, "The Body Invisible in Chinese Art?," in *Body, Subject and Power in China*, eds. Angela Zito and Tanie Barlow (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 42-77.
[29] John Hay, "The Human Body as a Microcosmic Source of Macrocosmic Values in Calligraphy," in *Theories of the Arts in China*, eds. Susan Bush and Christian Mirck (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 74-105.
[30] Hay, *"The Body Invisible in Chinese Art?,"* 42-5.
[31] Francois Jullien, *The Impossible Nude: Chinese Art and Western Aesthetics* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 49-54.
[32] Ibid, 49-52.
[33] James Cahill, *Pictures for Use and Pleasure: Vernacular Painting in high Qing China* (Berkeley University of California Press, 2010), 191-2.

scene pertaining to sex in Miao albums.

Chuzi Shuangfu 處子霜婦 (the virgin and the widow): copulation and chastity

Among Miao albums we find scenes depicting public sexual intercourse among ethnic minorities. The scene in the album leaf of *Bai Zhongjia* in an untitled album in the British Library collection (Figure 2. 8) is a typical example. The three figures on the left are playing drums, while the two figures on the right are embracing and kissing. This scene takes place outdoors, rather than in a private room. The two figures are thus kissing in public, with three other people next to them. In another rather similar *Bai Zhongjia* scene in the collections of the Harvard-Yenching Library (Figure 2. 9), a Miao man is trying to lay down with a Miao woman in a pink dress and the woman's left hand holds the man's waist, showing her willingness. Other figures in the scene are playing drums and chatting; none look at the couple.

Figure 2. 8, Anonymous, “Bai Zhongjia 白狆家,” in an untitled album (of 18 album leaves), undated, British Library, london. (Series OR5005).

Figure 2. 9, Anonymous, “Bai Zhongjia 白狆家,” in an album of *Qianmiao Tushuo* 黔苗圖

說 (of 57 entries), undated, Harvard-Yenching Rare Book Collections, Cambridge, MA.

Such scenes depicting ethnic people as sexually open make up a large portion of the illustrations in ethnographic albums. Moreover, in an image depicting Hongmiao people in *Guizhou Bamiao Tu* 貴州八苗圖 (Eight images of the Miao in Guizhou) (Figure 2. 10), at the bottom left, a woman approaches a man and holds him with her hand; the man is seemingly moving forward and turning his head back, kissing the woman. At the bottom right, a woman holds a man's waist from behind and both of them look at the kissing couple on the left. In a scene depicting the Longjia Miao (Figure 2. 11) in an album in the Welcome Trust Collection, a man and a woman dance around a pole. Another couple is shown on the right; here the man holds the woman from the back and his left hand is spread under her clothes.

Figure 2. 10, “Hongmiao 紅苗,” in *Guizhou Bamiao Tu*, Collection of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing.

Figure 2. 11, “Longjia Miao 龍家苗,” in an untitled album, undated, Wellcome Trust Collection, London.

How would such intimate scenes be judged by a male Han Chinese viewer at the time of their production? Since the accompanying texts generally remain silent, telling us at most that the subjects selected their partners in the spring by dancing, this chapter therefore also considers travel accounts and other ethnographies for insights into how Miao copulation scenes were viewed. Late imperial Chinese writers and artists developed a set of rhetorical and visual tropes with the effect of sexualising the non-Han.

In an officially edited geography book *Ming Yitong Zhi* 明一統志 (*Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Ming*), the section on Miao customs reports that:

> Virgins and widows are unconstrained in coming and going. Couples themselves choose one another for love; they get married afterwards.

處子孀婦，出入無間，情通私耦，然後成婚.[34]

Mansi Hezhi, a quote from which is placed at the start of this chapter, a compilation introducing the southern provinces and their ethnic minorities by Mao Qiling 毛奇齡 (1623-1716), a great literary scholar and historian in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, also emphasised rites pertaining to virgins and widows.

Such narratives reflect the sexual regulation of virgins and widows in premodern China, and we can trace such concerns over virgins and widows in earlier travel accounts of Yunnan. In chapter eight, describing the custom of the 'barbarians' of his ninth-century account of Yunnan and southeast Asian countries, *Yunnan Zhi* (*Gazetteer of Yunnan*), later also called *Manshu* 蠻書 (*Book of the Southern Barbarians*), Fan Chuo 樊綽, the secretary to a local government official in Annam, wrote:

> Their customs: virgin and widows are unconstrained in going out and coming in. In the evening, young boys stroll about the streets, playing flutes or tree leaves. The sound and rhyme conveyed their love, as mutual calls. On the night of a wedding, all the 'private husbands' come along to bid [the bride] goodbye. After marriage, if the wife betrays her husband, the man she was engaged with will be sentenced to die, but without imputation, and the woman will be killed too. If a rich and powerful family offer assets to save her life, then they banish her to a malarial swamp. She would forever be abandoned, and unable to be reunited with (the previous husband).
> 俗法：處子孀婦出入不禁．少年子弟暮夜遊行閭巷，吹壺盧笙，或吹樹葉，聲韻之中, 皆寄情言， 用相呼召． 嫁娶之夕， 私夫悉來相送． 既嫁有犯， 男子格殺無罪，婦人亦死．或有強家富室責資財贖命者，則遷徙麗水瘴地，終棄之，法不得再合.[35]

Similarly, in another well-known travel account, the *Yunnan Zhilüe* 雲南志略 (*Brief Narratives of Yunnan*) by the thirteenth-century writer Li Jing 李京, stated, for example, of the Jinchi Baiyi 金齒百夷 (Golden-Teeth Baiyi), that "their marriage customs do not pay attention to clan distinctions and do not value the virgin. They are addicted to sexual

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[34] Li Xian 李賢(1408-1466) and Peng Shi 彭時 (1416-1475), eds., *Ming Yitong Zhi* 明一統志 (*Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Ming*), vol.86 (Zhongguo Jiben Gujiku), 2710.
[35] Fan Chuo 樊綽, *Manshu Jiaozhu* 蠻書校注 (*Annotations to the Book of the Southern Barbarian*), ed., Xiang Da 向達 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1962), 210.

promiscuity like dogs and pigs (嫁娶不分宗族，不重處女，淫亂同狗彘).[36] The account of *Bairen* 白人 (the White People) also mentioned *Chuzi Shuangfu*:

> Virgins and widows are unconstrained in going out and coming in. Young boys are called *Miaozi*. In the evening, they stroll about the streets, playing flutes or tree leaves. The sound and rhyme convey their love, as mutual calls. Couples themselves choose one another for love; afterwards they get married
> 處子孀婦出入無禁．少年子弟號曰妙子，暮夜遊行，或吹蘆笙，或作歌曲, 聲韻之中皆寄情意，情通私耦，然後成婚.[37]

The frequent appearance of *Chuzi Shuangfu* in accounts recording non-Han customs is notable. Phrases such as Yehui 野會 (dating in the wild), chuzi shuangfu churu wujin 處子孀婦出入無禁 (virgins and widows are unconstrained in coming and going), buzhong chuzi 不重處女 (not valuing virginity), qingtong siou 情通私耦 (couples choosing one another for love), and yin 淫 (lewd) are frequent in the ethnography of pre-modern China. Such judgements were made based on Han Chinese ideas of chastity and ritual. It is likely that the later accounts drew on or transmitted the conventional wisdom laid out in the former, and to a Han Chinese, what they are most concerned about is the sexual behaviour of virgins and widows. In order to understand this, we have to probe how sexuality was conceptualised in Han Chinese culture.

Women's chastity, especially widow chastity, in Chinese history has been investigated at an early stage among gender historians. As early as the 1980s and early 1990s, Susan Mann, Mark Elvin, Rukang Tian and Katherine Carlitz discussed the virtue and chastity of widowhood in premodern China.[38] In the Ming and Qing eras, chastity was advocated by government, regulated in law, transmitted through didactic books and even celebrated through the erection of memorial arches.[39] Chaste women were extolled and publicised

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[36] Li, *Yunnan Zhilüe*, 92.
[37] Ibid, 87.
[38] Mark Elvin, "Female Virtue and the State in China," *Past and Present,* 104 (1984): 111-52; Susan Mann, "Widows in the Kinship, Class, and Community Structures of Qing Dynasty China," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 46 (1987): 37-56; Katherine Carlitz, "The Social Uses of Female Virtue in Late Ming Editions of *Lienü zhuan*," *Late Imperial China,* 12, 2 (1991): 117–52; Ju-k'ang T'ien (Rukang Tian), *Male Anxiety and Female Chastity: a Comparative Study of Chinese Ethical Values in Ming-Ch'ing times* (Leiden: Brill, 1988).
[39] For the regulation of sexuality in Qing China, including rape, sexual harassment and suicide, see Matthew H. Sommer, *Sex, Law, and Society in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000); Janet M. Theiss, *Disgraceful Matters: The Politics of Chastity in Eighteenth-Century China* (Berkeley and London: The University of California Press, 2004).

through the building of shrines and through commemorative biographies, epitaphs, poetry and even dramas written by elite literati men.[40] The chastity cult encompassed both an expanded state canonisation system and private mechanisms for honouring widows who lived out their days in service to their in-laws, refusing to remarry; widows who killed themselves to follow their husbands in death or to resist coerced remarriage; and women who died resisting sexual assault.[41]

Some scholars have traced the history of the chastity cult in China. For example, the origins of the chastity cult has been attributed to Song-era Neo Confucianism, and related to the famous quote *Ersi shi xiao, Shijie shi da* 餓死是小, 失節是大 (Compared to losing chastity, starving to death is minor) attributed to the leading Song scholar Chen Ying 程穎. Liu Liyan's study of women and widowhood under the Song suggests that widow chastity was not advocated by the government at that time but restricted to the upper classes. It was not until the Ming and Qing eras that the emphasis on chastity reached the general public.[42] In her discussion of the development of concern for widow chastity in Chinese history, Bettine Birge highlights the Yuan as a period when widow chastity became actively advocated and regulated, contrasting with the ample examples of remarried widows recorded under previous dynasties.[43] Therefore, women's chastity was not always advocated across China's long history. It was inseparable from Neo-Confucianism in the Song era and further regulated under the Yuan dynasty, reaching the broader public in late Imperial China with government support.

In her review article, Fei Siyin summarised the recent new paradigm of studying women's history by criticising a problematic historiographical movement from the nineteenth-century onwards which interpreted the cult of chastity as the oppression of women.[44] Including one of her articles, several significant works have approached

[40] Katherine Carlitz, "Shrines, Governing-Class Identity, and the Cult of Widow Fidelity in Mid-Ming Jiangnan," *Journal of Asian Studies,* 56, 3 (1997): 612-40; Yi Wu, "Let People See and Be Moved": Stone Arches and the Chastity Cult in Huizhou during the High Qing Era," *Nan Nü-Men Women and Gender in China,* 17, 1 (2015): 117-163.
[41] Mann, "Widows in the Kinship, Class, and Community Structures," 41-42.
[42] Liu Liyan 柳立言, "Qiantan Songdai Funu de Shoujie yu Zaijia 淺談宋代婦女的守節與再嫁 (A Brief Discussion of Women's Chastity and Remarriage in the Song Dynasty)," in *Zhongguo Funushi Duben*, 146-172.
[43] Bettine Birge, "Levirate Marriage and the Revival of Widow Chastity in Yuan China," *Asia Major*, 8, 2 (1995): 107-146.
[44] Siyen Fei, "Virtue, Talent and Her-story: Towards a New Paradigm of Chinese Women's History," *Social History*, 35, 4 (2010): 458-467; Siyen Fei, "Writing for Justice: An Activist

women's chastity by considering its rationalisation in a late Imperial Chinese cultural, economic and racial context. From the perspective of statecraft, ethnicity, and economic factors, scholars have offered us explanations of why widow chastity was emphasised, regulated and admired.[45] The chastity cult of widows in Han culture explains why the comments towards the sexually open non-Han were linked to *Shuangfu* (widows) in particular.

Compared to widow chastity, the chastity of unmarried girls has received relatively little scholarly attention, although *Zhennü* 貞女 (Virtuous Daughters) and *Lienü* 烈女 (Exemplary girls) who performed suicide after sexual harassment and those who killed themselves on receiving news of the death of their intended spouse or who never married following the death of an intended spouse were also listed in official histories. Meanwhile, late Imperial ethnography was greatly concerned with the sexuality of virgins. In addition to the aforementioned discussion of *Chuzi Shuangfu*, from time to time, virgins (*Chuzi* 處子 or *Chunü* 處女) were mentioned separately from widows. For example, Tian Rucheng 田汝成 (1503-1557), a government official who worked in Ming-era Guangdong, Guizhou and Guangxi, in his travel account *Xingbian Jiwen* 行邊紀聞 (Travel Accounts of the Borderlands), recorded Miao customs as follows:

> Virgins stride around the field and sing, in order to allure men. They are lascivious and unconstrained (by any conventions). They carve a wooden horse in the second month of spring, and make offerings with oxen and wine. The old sit together with their legs outstretched. The unmarried men and women play flute, singing in harmony. The lewd lyrics are mocking and unconstrained. This is called *Tiaoyue* (dancing under the moon). Afterwards, men leave [each] carrying the woman whom he likes.
>
> 處子行歌於野，以誘馬郎，淆淫不禁．仲春刻木為馬，祭以牛酒．老人並馬箕踞，未婚男女，吹蘆笙以和歌，淫詞謔浪，謂之跳月，中意者男負女去．[46]

In *Baiyi Zhuan*, the travel account of Li Sicong,, he describes the Baiyi 擺夷 as follows:

Beginning of the Cult of Female Chastity in Late Imperial China," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 71, 4 (2012): 991-1012.

[45] Fei, "Virtue, Talent and Her-story," 458-467.

[46] Tian Rucheng 田汝成, *Xingbian Jiwen* 行邊紀聞, in *Yunnan Shiliao Congkan,* vol.4, 607.

They do not value virginity, and those who use match-makers and bridal gifts are rather rare. Girls under fifteen years old have intercourse with men who are over twenty and if both agree, they might promise to become a couple. Before getting married, she is brought to the groom's family, and the relatives help her to wash her feet. A few days later, the girl will be sent back to her natal family, then they will invite a match-maker and send sheep, wine, money and brocade as bridal gifts.

不重處女，其通媒匹配著甚罕．年未笄，聽與弱冠男子通，而相得者約為夫婦．未婚輒引致男家，姑親為之濯足．數日，送至父母家，方用媒妁，以羊酒財帛之類為禮而娶之．[47]

Tian's account stressed the behaviour of Miao virgins and Chen's narrative explicitly pointed out that the Baiyi did not value virginity. Their accounts are also replete with the conventions of marriage rites and procedures, something which is further elaborated in the next section. As strictly as the regulation of widows, girls were forbidden premarital sex, a prohibition which can be seen in Ming and Qing books for girl's education and dietetic teachings, such as the classic works in *Jiaonü Yigui* 教女遺規 (The inherited rules for educating daughters) compiled by the great Qing educator Chen Hongmou 陳宏謀 (1696-1771).[48]

In the twelfth chapter "*Shoujie* 守節 (Maintaining Chastity)" of *Nü Lunyu* 女論語 (Female Analects of Confucius), written by Song Ruoxin 宋若莘, and Song Ruozhao 宋若昭, daughters of a Tang-era Confucian scholar, it is written that:

A daughter is supposed to stay in her chamber and not walk out of the courtyard. If there is a guest in the house, she should not make any noise. She should not talk of private things and not hear erotic sounds. When it gets dark, if she wants to walk outside the room, she should always have a lighted candle; coming in and going out in the dark is not proper behavior for a woman.

有女在室，莫出閒庭．有客在戶，莫露聲音．不談私語，不聽淫音．黃昏來往，秉燭掌燈，暗中出入，非女之經．一行有失，百行無成．[49]

[47] Li, *Baiyi Zhuan*,150.
[48] Wuzhong Yigui Yizhu Xiaozu, eds., *Jiaonü Yigui Yizhu* 教女遺規譯注 (*Annotations to The Inherited Rules for Educating Daughters*) (Beijing: Zhongguo Huaqiao Publishing, 2013).
[49] Song Ruoxin 宋若莘 and Song Ruozhao 宋若昭, "*Nü lunyu* 女論語 (Female Analects of Confucius) ," in *Jiaonü Yigui Yizhu*, 21-40 (38).

In *Guifan* 閨範 (*Rules of the Chamber*) by Lu Xinwu 呂新吾 (1536－1618), a Ming government official, there are several sections on daughters' chastity and morality. For example, in the *Lienü* section:

> The rule of being a woman is to maintain righteousness and wait for marriage. She should not only be loyal to her husband, but also follow rites when her marriage starts. If on any unfortunate occasions she is forced against her will, as a weak woman, she has not the means to protect herself. 'The naked blade' (i.e., suicide) cannot be what she desires, but besides death, there are no better choices. This is called giving up life for righteousness.[50]
>
> 女子之道, 守正待求. 不惟從一而永終, 亦須待禮而正始. 命之不谷, 時與願違, 朱顏無自免之術, 白刃豈甘心之地, 然而一死之外, 更無良圖, 所謂捨生取義 者也.

In the section on *Zhennü* 貞女, Lu claims that:

> Women should sustain purity, as (carefully as) they hold a jade cup full of clean water. Her heart should not change with what she hears and sees, and her behaviour should not attract criticism from her family or outsiders. Then she can maintain pure chastity and body. Why? A man's work takes in the whole realm, small errors can be made up-women could not compare with men(in this respect). But a woman's reputation and chastity are embedded in a single body. The slightest blemish cannot be covered even by ten thousand good deeds. On most occasions, or fortunate situations, eight or nine out of ten women could maintain their chastity. On some specific situations, she should be like the metal which becomes harder after long smelting; or the lotus which stays fragrant and keeps its purity even though it grows amongst filthy mud. Then women who maintain their chastity could reach nine out of ten.
>
> 女子守身, 如持玉卮山, 如捧盈水, 心不欲為耳目所變, 跡不欲為中外所疑, 然後可以完堅白之節, 成清潔之身, 何者?丈夫事業在六合, 苟非女士倫, 小節猶足自贖, 女子名節在一身, 稍有微瑕, 萬善不能相掩. 然居常處順, 十女九貞. 惟夫消磨糜爛之際, 金

[50] Lu Xinwu 呂新吾, "*Guifan* 閨範 (Rules of the Chamber)," in *Jiaonü Yigui Yizhu*, 54-158 (75).

久煉而愈精; 滓泥污穢之中, 蓮含香而自潔. 則點節者, 亦十九也.[51]

Following the *Zhennü* section, Lu provides an example of a filial girl who died to keep her chastity by refusing to stay in the tent of a male stranger. The story goes that a girl in Jiangnan, because her father was imprisoned and she had no brothers to deliver meals to him, had to do so herself, accompanied by her sister-in-law. They needed to pass through Gaoyou, an area full of mosquitos in the evenings, from which people had to hide in tents. A man asked them to hide in his tent. Her sister-in-law agreed, but the heroine said: "Women are different from men. One should try her best to avoid raising doubts. Except for her husband's tent, can she walk into others' tents?" After this speech, she slept in the grass. She was bitten by mosquitoes and died several days later, even her bones being exposed. Moved by her story, the local people built a temple to her memory and named it "Muscle Exposing Temple."[52]

In a Qing context, premarital sex was not allowed; as suggested in *Nü Lunyu,* daughters were supposed to stay in the inner chambers and remain quiet, especially when guests were present. *Gui Yuan* teaches that girls should maintain chastity, avoiding any doubt and, if unfortunately encountering harassment, should even commit suicide. The extreme example of the girl who died because she asserted it was improper to stay in the same tent with a male stranger also suggests the importance of chastity to an idealised girl in late imperial China.

The Han Chinese ideals of chastity differed greatly from the regulation of sexuality reflected in the copulation scenes in Miao albums and travel narratives. Thus the stressing of their alterity in the conceptualisation of daughters' sexual regulation among the Han Chinese explains the frequent depiction of copulation scenes and the use of the words *Chuzi* or *Chunü* across several ethnographies.

Dancing under the moonlight: marriage customs, rites and sexual regulation

Among studies of the representation of ethnic minorities in China, scholars have noted the important role played by dancing.[53] For example, Dru Gladney claims, "one cannot be

[51] Ibid, 77.
[52] Ibid, 78.
[53] For example, Holly Fairbank, "Chinese Minority Dances: Processors and Preservationists—Part 1," *Journal for the Anthropological Study of Human Movement*, 3, 4 (1985): 168–89; "Chinese

exposed to China without being confronted by its 'colorful' minorities. They sing, they dance; they twirl, they whirl. Most of all, they smile, showing their happiness to be part of the motherland." [54] As noted in the first chapter, Emily Wilcox has studied the categorisation of minority dances in the early PRC. [55] Focusing on the overly professionalized minority folksong and dance performances at the Smithsonian Folklife Festival in Washington, D.C. in 2007, Jing Li has analysed ways in which "ethnic performing arts are programmed to aestheticise Yunnan as a place and economic–cultural brand in this context, and, thus, how the Yunnan government manages both the politicization of art and the aestheticization of politics in order to carry out its economic agenda by way of aesthetic experience."[56] Tingting Jiang's Ph.D thesis examines the Dai peacock dance by looking at various versions of the Dai peacock dances from the 1950s to 2006, exploring the cultural and political discourses conveyed through its bodied language.[57]

In the Miao albums, there are several scenes depicting the ethnic minorities dancing. In an eighty-two leaf album on the Guizhou Miao, *Miaoman Tushuo* 黔苗圖說, in the Harvard-Yenching Library, there are eleven scenes pertaining to dance, and in another album at the same institution, *Yiren tushuo Mulu* 夷人圖說目錄, eight out of one hundred and eight images are dancing scenes. Although scholars specialised in the studies of non-Han dances suggest that they were performed for various purposes, including religious ceremony, celebrating the harvest, driving off demons and selecting partners, [58] this chapter suggests that dancing scenes in the Miao albums pertain almost exclusively to the latter, as one of the essential procedures of the marriage custom. The custom of selecting partners was initially called *Tiaoyue* 跳月 (dancing under the moonlight) by the great

Minority Dances: Processors and Preservationists—Part 2," *Journal for the Anthropological Study of Human Movement,* 4, 1 (1986): 36–55; "Preserving Minority Dance in China: Multiple Meanings and Layers of Intention," *Journal for the Anthropological Study of Human Movement,* 16 (2009):1–2.

[54] Gladney, "Representing Nationality in China," 95.

[55] Wilcox, "Beyond Internal Orientalism," 1-24.

[56] Li, "The Making of Ethnic Yunnan on the National Mall," 69-100.

[57] Ting-Ting Chang, "Choreographing the Peacock: Gender, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Chinese Ethnic Dance," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Riverside, 2008).

[58] Ji Lanwei 紀蘭慰 and Qiu Jiurong 邱久榮, eds., *Zhongguo Shaoshu Minzu Wudaoshi* 中國少數民族舞蹈史 (*The History of Chinese Ethnic Minority Dance*) (Beijing: Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Chubanshe, 1998); The Editorial Committee of *Zhonghua Wudaozhi,* eds., *Zhonghua Wudaozhi Yunnan Juan* 中華舞蹈志雲南卷 (*Volume of Yunnan in Studies on Dance in China*) (Shanghai: Xuelin Chubanshe, 2014).

Ming literati Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488-1559) in *Dian Chengji* 滇程記 (*A Journey in Yunnan*).[59] Although called *Tiaoyue*, the dance was not actually performed in the evening, something which reflects the fictionality of male Han literati representations of non-Han society. In Figure 2. 12, a group of Hua (Flower) Miao are depicted dancing: men play flute and women play bells; they are chasing one another. Such customs are called *Tiaoyue*, as the paired text relates:

> In the first month of every spring, the Flower Miao unite a couple in the wild, calling this *Tiaoyue*. They choose a level ground, which is called the moon space. In clothes of very bright colours, men play flutes and women ring bells. They twirl, dance and sing. Those who are attracted to each other get together. The woman moves to her husband's family [only] after their child is born.
> 花苗每歲孟春合男女於野謂之跳月, 擇平壤地為月場, 鮮衣豔裝男吹蘆笙, 女振鈴鐺, 盤旋歌舞, 情投契而共處, 生子乃歸夫家.

Figure 2. 12, "Huamiao 花苗," in an untitled album, undated, Wellcome Trust Library, London.

[59] Hu, *Mingqing Wenxue Zhongde Xinan Xushi,* 39.

In another Huamiao image in *Miaozu Shenghuo Tu* in the library of Princeton University (Figure 2. 13), the text on the top right of the image also states that "*Tiaoyue* is women and men finding their partners in the wild in the first month of spring (孟春男女野合為跳月)". Thus, *Tiaoyue* was defined as a celebration of looking for partners. Figure 2. 14, another image sharing a similar composition, depicts the dancing scenes of Miao- indeed very popular. The *Tiaoyue* custom was frequently recorded in travel accounts and ethnographic works by many late imperial literati who visited Yunnan and Guizhou, some of which offered more detailed descriptions. According to Hu Xiaozhen, the seventeenth-century description of *Tiaoyue* in *Dongxi Xianzhi* by Lu Ciyun 陸次雲 was very influential, and was referred to or copied by many other popular works of ethnography, and even some novels.[60] Bei Qingqiao 貝青喬 (1810-1863) a poet from a poor family in southern China, who failed the civil service exams several times and travelled around China, including the west of Guizhou, as a supervisor of government officials in the late Qing era, also wrote a long poem on *Tiaoyue*, describing clothes, steps, and processes in great detail. [61] Generally, *Tiaoyue* took place in spring and both the young and the old participated. Both women and men would dress up and would choose their partners while dancing and chasing. Afterwards the young leave to indulge in intercourse in the mountains with their new partner. After marriage, a bride would not move to join the groom's family until she bore a baby. She could also continue to have sex with other men until that time.

[60] Hu, *Xinan Minzu Wenxue Xushi*, 40-3. Lu Ciyun 陸次雲, *Dongxi Xianzhi* 峒溪纖志 (*Brief Accounts of Dongxi*) (Zhongguo Jiben Guji Ku), 9.
[61] Bei Qingqiao 貝青喬, "Tiaoyue Ge 跳月歌 (Song of Moondancing)," in *Banxing'an Shi Cungao* 半行庵詩存稿, vol. 4 (Zhongguo Jiben Gujiku), 45.

Figure 2. 13, “Huamiao 花苗,” in an album of *Miaozu Shenghuo Tu* 苗族生活图 (of 40 album leaves), Princeton University Library.

Figure 2. 14, Mu Konggong 木孔恭, "Huamiao 花苗," in an album of *Qianmiao Tushuo* 黔苗圖說 (of 82 album leaves), Harvard-Yenching Library, Cambridge, MA.

The *Tiaoyue* custom was not confined to the Miao, but was observed among other ethnic groups in Guizhou. Moreover, beside flutes and bells, they played with other items, too. For example, in Figure 2. 15, an image for Kayou Zhongjia 卡優仲家，a group of Miao are depicted playing with balls, and there is a poem inscribed alongside the image[62]:

[62] Deal and Hostetler, *The Art of Ethnography*, 12-3.

邕管遷來有卡尤，青巾綰髻自風流，如花仲女爭途出，跳月場中擲彩球.

Once under Yong's control, the Kayou then moved here

Hair bound up in blue cloth, each shows off his own style,

Like flowers, women strive to show themselves outside.

Dancing on moonlit grounds, they toss a bright-hued ball.

Figure 2. 15, "Kayou Zhongjia 卡優仲家," in an album of *Qianmiao Tushuo* 黔苗圖說, Harvard–Yenching Library.

The word *tiaoyue* appears in the poem, which is is dominated by the Han Chinese

poet's imagination and its sexually tinged response to the *Tiaoyue* custom, describing the women as flowers. Although *Tiaoyue* did not define every scene of dancing, they were still intimately associated with marriage customs. For example, in Figure 2. 16, an image of the Gou'er Longjia 狗耳龍家, everyone dances with a blue ribbon, the front four figures seemingly choosing partners; of the two figures at the back, the man kneels close to the woman and they are making eye contact. The accompanying text suggests they dance for *Zepei* 擇配, i.e., to choose a marriage partner. Also, in an image depicting the Datou Luoluo 大頭羅羅 in the collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig (Figure 2. 17), we see another scene of singing and dancing; the two figures in front, a man with a musical instrument and a woman in an orange dress, are chasing one another. This pattern of a woman and a man playing together appears in many dancing scenes and indicates that the theme of the genre pertains to marriage customs.

Figure 2. 16, "Gou'er Longjia 狗耳龍家," in an untitled album, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford (no. 1917.53.724.1-3)

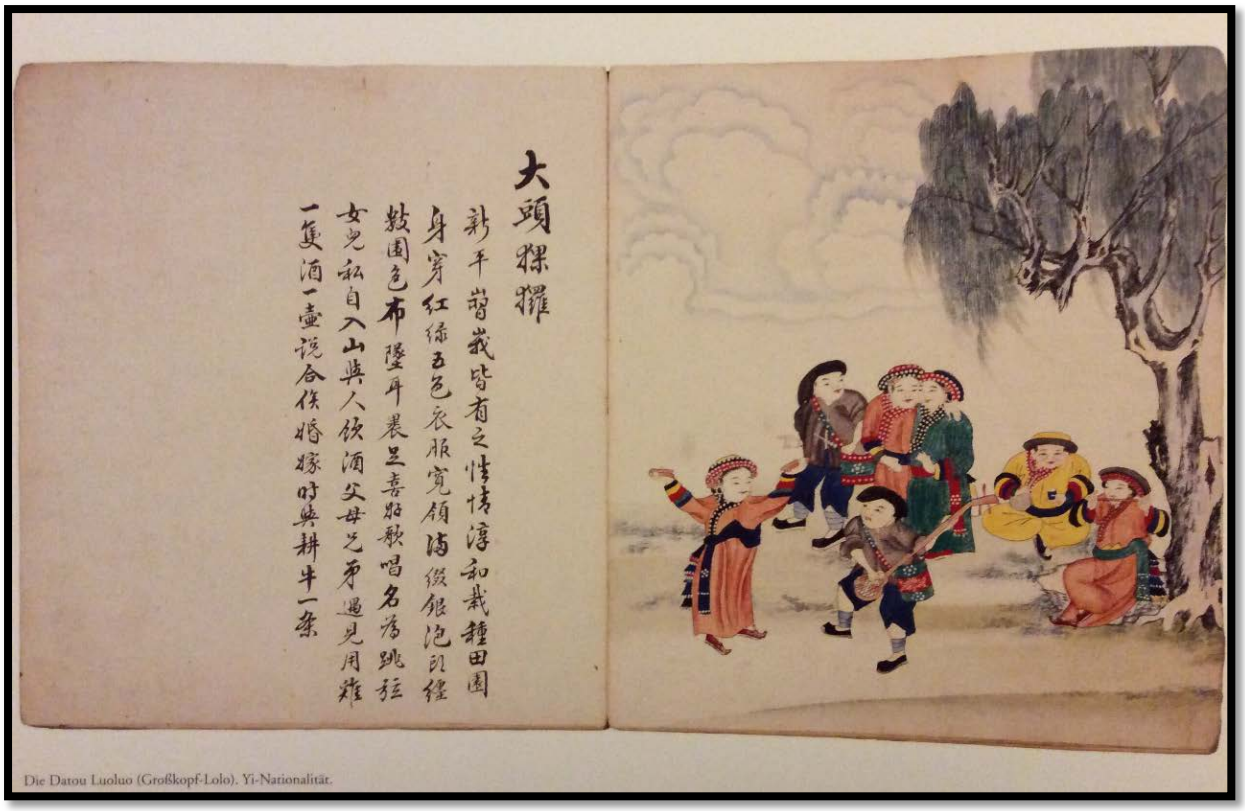

Figure 2. 17, He Changgeng, "Datou Luoluo 大頭羅羅," in an album of *Yixi Yinan Yiren Tushuo*, 1788, Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Germany.

Dancing is an essential part of the whole marriage procedure. After the dance, women and men generally leave as a couple and have sexual intercourse. Because this always follows the dance, these pleasant dancing scenes are intimately associated with sexuality. This customary marriage process differs enormously from Han Chinese customs. Several scholars' investigation of the history of marriage customs in China have shown their diversity. Janice Stockard has examined *Buluo Jia* 不落家 (delayed delivery marriage) and *Zishu Nü* 自梳女 (women who resist marriage) in the Pearl River Delta.[63] Moreover Anne McLaren has explored *Lueduo Hun* 掠奪婚 (marriage by adduction), and Chunjun Gu and Keqian Xu have examined *Minghun* 瞑婚 (netherworld marriage) and its evolution in ancient China.[64] These scholars have explored the economic, cultural and political

[63] Janice Stockard, *Daughters of the Canton Delta: Marriage Patterns and Economic Strategies in South China, 1860-1930* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1989).
[64] Anne Mclaren, "Marriage by Abduction in Twentieth Century China," *Modern Asian Studies*, 35, 4 (2001): 953-984; Chunjun Gu and Keqian Xu, "Netherworld Marriage in Ancient China: Its Historical Evolution and Ideological Background," *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies,* 13, 38 (2014): 78.

reasons contributing to the formation of these unsual marriage customs. The marriage customs of the non-Han in Yunnan and Guizhou are similar to the delayed marriage customs in Guangdong examined by Stockard, but vary in some details. The aim of this part is not to investigate how *Tiaoyue* is rationalized or justified in the southwest of China, but to analyse the representational power generated from such marriage customs to the Han viewers of Miao albums and readers of ethnographic travel accounts. To do so, marriage ideals among of Han Chinese have to be considered.

In a Confucian discourse, marriage custom is regarded as a crucial ritual component. In *Liji* 禮記 (*The Classic of Rites*), it is claimed that "the way of being a gentleman starts from husband and wife 君子之道，造端乎夫婦,"[65] and "marriage is the root of rites 昏禮者，禮之本也".[66] Several works of Confucian literature and law in premodern China have specific requirements and procedures for the rites of marriage among Han Chinese. For example, in the section on *Shi Hunli* 士昏禮 (Marriage Rites of Scholar-Officials), in *Yi Li* 儀禮 (Rites and Ceremonies), one of the principal Confucian classics, it suggests that in total marriage comprises six processes.[67] The first step is *Nacai* 納采 (Asking for agreement). The groom's family should arrange a match-maker who will help by asking whether the bride's family is willing to let the daughter marry into the groom's family. If agreed, gifts would be sent to the bride's family. The second step is *Wenming* 問名 (Asking for names). The groom's family needs to know the bride's name, so that they can select a fortunate day. Third, *Naji* 納吉 sees the groom's family select a fortunate day to send gifts to the bride's family. Fourth, *Nazhi* 納徵 involves sending the gift to the bride's family. Fifth, *Qingqi* 請期 (asking for a date), the groom's family would select an auspicious day for the marriage ceremony and wait to see whether the bride's family agree to this. The final stage is *Qinying* 親迎 (Welcoming). At the wedding, the bride is welcomed into the groom's family.[68]

Although classics like the *Liji* has been written much earlier, they remained popular in late imperial daily life; Patricia Ebrey observes "in later centuries scholars who wished to analyse or formulate these domestic ancestor-oriented rites invariably draw from

[65] Dai Sheng 戴聖, *Li Ji* 禮記 (*Classic of Rites*) (Changchun: Jilin Renmin Chubanshe, 2005), 366.
[66] Ibid, 441.
[67] *Yi Li* 儀禮 (*Rites and Ceremonies*) (Changsha: Yuelu Shuyuan, 2001).
[68] Ibid, 21-47.

these texts directly or indirectly."[69] Thus these classics were important sources that shaped the understanding of common people's daily lives in late imperial China.[70] The references to these ritual classics are highly relevant to the discussion of the gender and marriage conventions here.

The six detailed and strict processes for scholarly officials' marriage in *Yi li*, concentrating as they do on the bridal gifts and an auspicious date, indicate that the marriage custom follows a certain schedule and is an affair between two families; we do not see individual participation by bride and groom. The phrases *Fumu Zhiming* 父母之命 (parents' command) and *Meishuo Zhiyan* 媒妁之言 (the match-maker's speech) convey two of the most important roles in building a marriage: parents and matchmaker. In *Baihu Tong Delun* 白虎通德論 (*The White Tiger Classic*), an important Confucian classic originating in the Han dynasty, the section on marriage states that "women and men cannot decide marriage by themselves, instead it must be decided by parents. Why do we need a match-maker? It is for avoiding shame and lewdness 男女不自專娶，女不自專嫁，必由父母，須媒妁何？遠恥防淫佚也."[71] The Qing law likewise reads as follows:

> Marriages should all follow the decisions of grandparents and parents. If they do not have grandparents and parents, then the remaining relatives should help to decide. If the husband dies and the woman is to remarry, that will follow the direction of the mother.
>
> 嫁娶皆由祖父母父母主婚．祖父母父母俱無者，從餘親主婚．其夫亡攜女適人者，其女從母主婚.[72]

Regarding Confucian rites and Han Chinese marriage custom, the decision by parents, the bridal gift, the names of bride and groom, selection of an auspicious date and arrangement by the matchmaker come together to comprise an ideal and proper

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[69] Patricia Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China* (Pinceton: Pinceton University Press, 1991), 18-9.
[70] For the history of rites in China, also see: Kai-wing Chow, *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in Late Imperial China: Ethics, Classics, and Lineage Discourse* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994); Joseph McDermott, *State and Court Ritual in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
[71] Ban Gu 班固, *Bai Hutong Delun* 白虎通德論 (*Virtuous Discussions of the White Tiger Hall*) (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1990), 70.
[72] "*Da Qing Lüli* 大清律例 (*Law of the Great Qing*)," in *Zhonguo Gudai Hunyin* 中國古代婚姻，ed. Wang Jun 王俊 (Beijing: Zhonguo Shangye Chubanshe, 2015), 71.

marriage. These manifest tremendous differences to the marriage customs among the ethnic minorities. These rites and well-planned procedures did not exist in the marriage customs of non-Han people in the southwest, who selected their own partners by dancing and copulated immediately after the dance. The frequent depiction of dance scenes thus reflects Han Chinese concern with marriage rites.

Encountering sexuality: enlightenment plans and the diversity of representation

Sexuality was a surprisingly central concern in the encounter between the two cultures. Helen Siu, in her studies of marriage resistance in southern China, recognises the cultural encounter between different ethnicities and how identity and hierarchy were constructed along with migration, settlement, cultural integration and conflict.[73] Sexual regulations were a key concern when the Manchu encountered Han Chinese culture; after the Manchus conquered China, they gradually accepted Confucian values regarding marriage and sex.[74] In her research on the Han fantasy of *Gu* poison used by Miao women, Norma Diamond observes that writings on the dangerous Miao women constantly repeated the details of *Gu*, and the danger to life and soul that could result from involvement with local women. This reflects the fears of Han men, in particular the literati, when encountering what they regarded as the social disorder of the Miao.[75]

In my study of the ethnic minorities of the southwest, sexuality was not only used to identify different ethnicities; it also tells stories of the encounter between different cultures and imperial order. The "marriage reform" in the chapters on the Guizhou Miao and Yao in the erotic novel *Yesou Puyan* 野叟曝言 (*A Country Codger's Words of Exposure*) offers an interesting example in this respect. *Yesou Puyan* is a 154-chapter novel written by Xia Jingqu 夏敬渠 (1705-1787), an eccentric polymath little known to either his mid-

[73] Helen Siu, "Where were the Women? Rethinking Marriage Resistance and Regional Culture in South China," *Late Imperial China*, 11, 2 (1990): 42-9.
[74] Zhou Hong 周虹, *Manzu Funü Shenghuo yu Minsu Wenhua Yanjiu* 滿族婦女生活與民俗文化研究 (*Research on the Lives and Customs of Manchu Women*) (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 2005); Ding Yizhuang 定宜莊, *Manzu de Funü Shenghuo yu Hunyin Zhidu Yanjiu* 滿族的婦女生活與婚姻制度研究 (*Research on the Lives and Marriage of Manchu Women*) (Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe, 1999); Shuo Wang, "Manchu Women in Transition: Gender, Ethnicity, and Acculturation in 17th–18th Century China," (PhD. diss, Michigan State University, 2002), 151-3.
[75] Diamond, "The Miao and Poison: Interactions on China's Southwest Frontier," 1-25.

eighteenth century contemporaries or anyone afterwards.[76] In the novel, the Han protagonist Wen Sucheng travels to the southwest and encounters the Miao and the Dong. The investigation of their sexuality occupies a large portion of the chapters relating to ethnic minorities in the southwest. When he chats with the locals, the marriage customs of ethnic minorities are often discussed.[77]

In the novel, Huanggu, a Dong girl, only loves the Han Chinese rites, despising the Dong rules which were highly admired by Sucheng. Huanggu likes to read Chinese books and writing poems. She never goes out, staying in her chamber, either reading or doing embroidery. When Huangu is asked whether she is willing to marry Lan'ge, a Han boy, she replies with five stipulations:

> First, she does not want to sing outside, but Lange needs to come to her house, singing from behind a curtain; second, if she sings along in harmony, that signals agreement. Intercourse will not immediately follow, however; they have to wait until the marriage ceremony. Third, on their wedding night, disturbing the nuptial chamber or eavesdropping outside the chamber is prohibited. Fourth, three days later, when meeting the male relatives, the bride will not hold their hands or hug them. Fifth, after marriage, she will not follow the *Gan Yelang* custom (chasing and copulating with other men). If she is not able to bear a child within ten years, her husband could take other wives and concubines. If any of these conditions are not met, she would prefer to grow old at home, serving her parents without marrying.
>
> 第一, 不上墟去唱歌，要蘭哥到我家來，隔簾唱和；第二，唱歌時，女兒若和了，便算允了親事，不就交歡，要行聘擇吉，迎娶過門，合巹以後，才成婚禮；第三，成婚之夜，不許吵房，聽房；第四，三朝以後，凡有男親相見，俱不把手抱腰，只斂衽福拜；第五，成婚以後，不趕野郎，十年無子, 許其廣置姬妾. 有一件不依，寧可老在家中，侍奉父母，不願嫁人. [78]

[76] Keith McMahon, *Misers, Shrews, and Polygamists: Sexuality and Male-female Relations in Eighteenth-century Chinese Fiction* (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 1995); Keith Mcmahon, "A Case for Confucian Sexuality: The Eighteenth-century Novel, "Yesou Puyan"," *Late Imperial China,* 9, 1 (1988): 32-55.
[77] Xia Jingqu 夏敬渠, *Yesou Puyan* 野叟曝言 (*A Country Codger' Words of Exposure*) (Changchun: Jilin Chubanshe, 2004).
[78] Ibid, vol 3, 893.

The first rule suggests that singing is still performed, but the setting is changed, from the outdoors to the house; the second rule suggests that the daughter could still decide whether or not she accepted the marriage, but intercourse should not follow immediately; betrothal gifts should be provided and an auspicious date selected. The third and fourth rules indicate the rites at the wedding night, restricting intimacy among relatives; the last rule pertains to sexual regulation after marriage; she refused to be involved in sex with other men. The customs of ethnic minorities did not change entirely; the singing and the daughter's choice were retained. Meanwhile, several principal elements of Han customs were incorporated, including betrothal gifts, choosing an auspicious date, the forbidding of intimacy with other males and sexual loyalty towards the husband, which are all integral to chastity and female virtue expressed in Confucian ethics as discussed above.

Only when Huanggu's requests were approved by Lan'ge, was she willing to marry him. After hearing of her request, Huanggu was greatly extolled by Suchen.[79] The five rules made by the Dong girl reflect an encounter between Han Chinese culture and the indigenous people in Guizhou. Rather than the local ethnic minority woman's voice, it is more proper to see the five rules as Han male intellectuals' enlightenment plan towards ethnic minority marriage customs in the southwest. Huanggu was an idealized example of an ethnic minority woman educated by Han Chinese rites.

This fascinating story of a Dong girl influenced by Han culture, rites and life style in *Yesou Puyan* supports the argument that the visual tropes of sexuality, chastity and marriage customs in Miao albums, travel accounts and gazetteers by government officials or lesser literati are reflections of the Han Chinese perspective. It is important to realize that these are generally the representations of the government officials or travellers responding to Han taboos. Another example, from Chen Ding 陳鼎 (1650-?), a Han Chinese who married the daughter of Chieftain Long of the Guizhou Miao, might add to the complexities of representational models of the non-Han.

Chen moved to Yunnan with his uncle at the age of ten. After the death of his uncle, he stayed in a temple with his aunt in eastern Yunnan. Owing to an introduction by a teacher to Chieftain Long's daughter, Chen and his aunt were able to stay in the chieftain's

[79] Ibid, 893.

home. At seventeen, Chen married the chieftain's daughter.[80] In his travel narrative, *Dianqian Jiyou* (Accounts of Travel in Yunnan and Guizhou), Chen described Miao marriage customs:

> On the first day of spring, beautiful women and men were singled out, acting as different roles in stories for entertaining in the marketplace. In terms of those beautiful men, even Pan'an in the Song dynasty could not compete with them, and of those beautiful women, even Feiyan in the Han dynasty or Taizhen in the Tang dynasty could not exceed them. If anyone intends to buy this sort of woman, thousands of oxen and horses are required to obtain their permission."
>
> 每至立春日，擇男女之麗者，枌各故事以迎于市為樂．男子之麗者，即古之潘安宋朝，有不及焉．女子之麗者，漢之飛燕，唐之太真，亦無能出其上矣．此種女子，欲購之者，牛馬當以千計，而始首肯．[81]

In this text, Chen appreciates the beauty of non-Han men and women. Compared to two of the most beautiful women in Chinese history, Feiyan and Taizhen, he reports that the ethnic minority women were the more beautiful. Unlike many other texts, he did not use the words "lewdness" or "wildness" in describing and commenting on the Miao. In another book, *Dianqian Tusi Huliji* **滇黔土司婚禮記** (*Record of Chieftains' Marriages in Yunnan and Guizhou*) about his experiences of marriage ceremonies in the region, Chen claimed that the marriage customs in Chieftain Long's family followed Han rites by virtue of their originally also being Han Chinese who had moved to Yunnan. In her study of Chen's travel accounts, Hu Xiaozhen suggests that he drew on both reality and imagination, and that the centrality of Han rites in the chieftain's marriage customs report might be designed to convey concern over the loss of rites in Han Chinese society.[82]

Chen's accounts are significant and strengthen our argument of the art of representation depending on selection and their relation to different agencies. The representation of the non-Han also depends on an individual's background and personal

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[80] Chen Ding 陳鼎, *Dianqian Tusi Hunli Ji* 滇黔土司婚禮記 (*Record of the Marriages of Tributary Officials in Yunnan and Guizhou*) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1985).
[81] Chen Ding 陳鼎, *Dianqian Jiyou* 滇黔紀遊 (*Travel Accounts in Yunnan and Guizhou*) (Jinan: Qilu Shushe, 1997), 5.
[82] Hu, *Mingqing Wenxue Zhongde Xinan Xushi*, 97-108.

experience. However, the most popular voices were still those judgements corresponding to Han cultural taboos and composed by government officials and the literati.

Most current literatures addressing gender and imperialism in Europe focus on the encounter between the colonizer and the colony. In her edited studies *Gender and Imperialism* Clare Midgley has summarised three approaches in current study of gender and British imperialism.[83] In the past decade, scholarship has continued to develop around these three sub-categories. Firstly, an attempt to restore women to imperial history and demonstrate the scope of women's involvement in Empire as wives of colonial administrators, settlers, explorers, missionaries and nurses. Other work analyses women's role in shaping colonial societies and the nature of their relationships with indigenous women, identifying female involvement in imperialism ranging from complicity to resistance.[84] For example, Mary Procida critically re-evaluates the position of the wives of Government of India officials in the political culture of the Raj from 1883 to 1947, arguing that, far from being marginal figures, wives played an important role in maintaining British rule in India.[85]

The second major category of works on gender and imperialism are those exploring the impact of imperialism on women within Britain, contributing a gender perspective to the project of bringing together British social and cultural history with imperial history. These works include studies of women's involvement in the anti-slavery movement, of the relationships between feminism, racism and imperialism, of female colonial emigration, of the impact of state policies focusing on women's roles as mothers of the imperial race, and of the history of black, Asian and Irish women in Britain.[86] The third key area of research has been into colonised women's own experiences, which is less relevant to this dissertation as it mainly engages with the external representation of non-

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[83] Clare Midgley,"Introduction: Gender and Imperialism: Mapping the Connections," in *Gender and Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 1-20.
[84] Ibid, 6-7.
[85] Mary Procida, *Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India, 1883-1947* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); also see Emily Manktelow, *Missionary Families: Race, Gender and Generation on the Spiritual Frontier* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Kirsty Reid and John MacKenzie, *Gender, Crime and Empire: Convicts, Settlers and the State in Early Colonial Australia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).
[86] Midgley, *Gender and Imperialism,* 8; Dianne Lawrence, *Genteel Women: Empire and Domestic Material Culture, 1840-1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); Emma Robertson, *Chocolate, Women and Empire: A Social and Cultural History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

Han people.[87]

Compared to the British imperial experience, for Han Chinese women as wives of officials ruling the borderland or as immigrants to the frontier, or even Han women living in the heartlands, there should be numerous possibilities for encountering the non-Han, either face-to-face or through local products and popular stories. Even though Han women may have had encounters with or consumed stereotypes of these peoples, they were not in a position to inscribe their own views on the matter; ethnographic works in late imperial China were mainly composed by the male elite. Although it would very difficult to write women's imperial history of China, these interesting sources in novels and literature make it possible to explore the gendered encounter between male Han Chinese and the local ethnic minorities. Although the majorities of this dissertation deal with visual representations, this point on the nature of the encounter is worthy of further study.

Refashioning moon dancing: the freedom of *Lian'ai* 戀愛 (love)

When we come to the first half of the twentieth century, sexual regulations and orders concerning chastity, sex and love, and marriage forms were reframed among intellectuals and reformers and some ideas were supported by the state through law. Frank Dikötter observes:

> Sex shook the large cities in early Republican China. Open talk of sex rapidly became a sign of liberation from the 'shackles of tradition' among modernizing elites...Urban culture was increasingly sexualized, and such diverse topics as prostitution, venereal disease and birth control became issues of public concern. Anxiety over sexuality was expressed by the educated public in letters to specialized periodicals, confessions to daily newspapers and inquiries to medical journals. [88]

This chapter suggests that the unconventional sexuality and marriage customs of ethnic minorities were also popularised along with the newly open sexual culture in

[87] Midgley, *Gender and Imperialism,* 9-11.
[88] Frank Dikotter, *Sex, Culture and Modernity in China: Medical Science and the Construction of Sexual Identities in the Early Republican Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 1.

Republican China, as observed by Dikötter. The Miao moon-dances were perceived as an equivalent to free love. This section also explores how non-Han customs were represented as the ideal of romantic love came to be thought of as the most appropriate spur to marriage.

As new marriage forms were encouraged, traditional marriage customs were chipped away. Rather than betrothal divined by a matchmaker, brides and grooms chose their own spouses. Marriage contracts were agreed by both parents and children and did not include a dowry. Couples married on a day that was convenient, rather than one deemed auspicious. The ceremony, which took place outside of the home, was presided over by a family friend or civic official. White wedding dresses made a further statement against superstition: the color white had traditionally been reserved for funerals.[89] The Han image of an utopian world with new sexual regulations defined by free love, free sex and new-style marriage was reflected in several photographs and accounts pertaining to the non-Han in the southwest.

A number of photographic images about love, sexuality and marriage customs were taken, in a way similar to the visual representation of the sexualised non-Han subject in late imperial China. Meanwhile, the sexuality of non-Han peoples was contextualised within new discourses, such as *Lian'ai* 戀愛 (love), *Ziyou* 自由 (freedom), *Lihun* 離婚 (divorce), Taohun 逃婚 (Escape before the wedding night), 性 *Xing* (sex) , and *Xing Ziyou* 性自由 (sexual freedom). This section thus seeks to explore what these new discourses stand for in an ethnographic context. Contextualised within the reconfiguration of sexuality in modern China, this investigates ways in which the non-Han were sexualised with regard to modernity, and how the Han Chinese sought inspiration from the ethnic minorities in the southwest for the social reform of sexuality within their own community.

We initially discuss one of the most popular discourses, *Lian'ai*, and the new use of the term to describe the *Tiaoyue* marriage custom. Photographic images introducing *Tiaoyue* were rather prevalent. For example, in a page titled "*Miaojiang Yipie* 苗疆一瞥 (A Glimpse of the Miao Borderland)" in *Shijie Huabao* 世界畫報 (Lithography of the World), an anonymous writer introduced several Miao festivals and attached a number of

[89] Charlotte Cowden, "Wedding Culture in 1930s Shanghai: Consumerism, Ritual, and the Municipality," *Frontiers of History in China*, 7, 1 (2012): 61-89.

photographs.[90] At the top right of the image captioned "Tiaoyue Xunhuan 跳月尋歡 (Dancing in the moonlight for (sexual) happiness)," it is a well-dressed Miao girl who participated in the dancing party in half-length portrayal. At the bottom of the page, there are three images showing dancing, singing and chasing scenes (Figure 2. 18). In the image, "*Nannü Tiaoqing* 男女調情 (Men and women flirting)", to which the English caption reads 'love-making', a man in a robe stands close to a Miao woman under a tree, both of them looking at the camera with a smile. Rather than real engagement in love-making, this is clearly a posed scene for the photographer.[91] Figure 2. 19 is a poster designed for the drama "*Axi Tiaoyue* 阿戲跳月(Moon Dancing of Axi)", in which a young male plays a musical instrument and a young woman dances. Both of them look at each other, making eye contact.

Figure 2. 18, Anonymous, Photographs from "Miaojiang Yipie 苗疆一瞥 (A Glimpse of the Miao Borderland)," *Shijie Huabao* 世界畫報, 3, 5 (1941): 22.

[90] Anonymous, "Miaojiang Yipie 苗疆一瞥 (A Glimpse of the Miao Borderland)," *Shijie Huabao* 世界畫報, 3 , 5 (1941): 22.
[91] Ibid, 22.

Figure 2. 19, Situ Qiping 司徒威平, Illustrated cover of "Axi Tiaoyue 阿細跳月 (Moon Dancing of A Xi)," *Yinyue Xiju Shige Yuekan* 音樂戲劇詩歌月刊 (1947).

A travel account by another author, writing under the pen-name Fangcao 芳草 (Fragrant grass), in *Libai Liu* 禮拜六 (Saturday), a journal well-known for publishing love stories and literature, introduced the beautiful scenery of Guilin. According to the accompanying text, she did not get a chance to see the moon dancing. When she heard sounds from villages further away, she only guessed that it would probably be *Tiaoyue*, but she still provides a photograph titled "Shanmin de Tiaoyue 山民的跳月 (The moon dancing of the mountain people)"in which a group of men seem to be dancing on the ground (Figure 2. 20).[92] Although *Tiaoyue* was a popular topic, it would be difficult for a

[92] Fangcao 芳草, "Lijiang Qiuse: Shanmin de Tiaoyue 灕江秋色: 山民的跳月 (Autumn Scene of Lijiang: Moon dancing of Mountain people)," *Li Bailiu* 禮拜六, 841 (1949): 10.

Han Chinese photographer to capture the scene with a camera. Moreover, in the Miao photographs in *Tuhua Shibao* 圖畫時報 (Figure 2. 21), although an annotation introduces the *Tiaoyue* marriage customs, the author could only offer an image of a Miao man with a flute and another separate photograph of a young Miao woman.

Figure 2. 20, Fangcao 芳草, Photograph of "Lijiang Qiuse: Shanmin de Tiaoyue 瀘江秋色：山民的跳月 (Autumn Scene of Lijiang: Moon dancing of the Mountain people)," *Li Bailiu* 禮拜六, 841 (1949): 10.

Figure 2. 21, Anonymous, Photographs of "Guizhou Anshun Xianshu Huamiao 貴州安順縣屬花苗 (Flower Miao in Anshun, Guizhou)," *Tuhua Shibao* 圖畫時報, 952 (1933): 2.

The passion for seeking opportunities to watch the *Tiaoyue* custom is indicated in an article discussing Miao marriage in *Shanghai Funü* by an author going under the pen-name of Biyun 碧筠. Biyun claims that:

> Recently we went to the Miao district, 40 miles away, to see their 'selecting partners dance'. This is one of the most exciting things since my arrival in Guiyang..... On the eighth day of April, we heard it said that another one will take place in the city. I am not sure whether or not it will be like this. If at that time I go and do not leave, I could feast my eyes on it."
> 最近我們到離貴陽四十裡外的苗區去看她們的擇配舞． 要算是我到貴陽後第一件快事……四月初八，城裡聽說也要舉行一次，不知是否這樣，那時我假使還不離開

那兒，又可一飽眼福了.[93]

Watching the *Tiaoyue* custom was regarded as the most exciting aspect of a visit to the Miao lands. It was difficult for photographers to encounter *Tiaoyue* scenes, however, and in fact photographs were often designed and posed for particular viewers. For example, in Figure 2. 22, a group of young Miao women and men are "performing" *Tiaoyue* for the army officials and other Han Chinese standing on the right. The *Tiaoyue* customs were indeed refashioned in Republican China. Both those who visited the Miao and those who did not, those who had a chance to see *Tiaoyue* and those who did not, all contributed to knowledge production on the custom. The results were circulated in the form of travel accounts, poetry, drama and photographs in a variety of newspapers and periodicals.

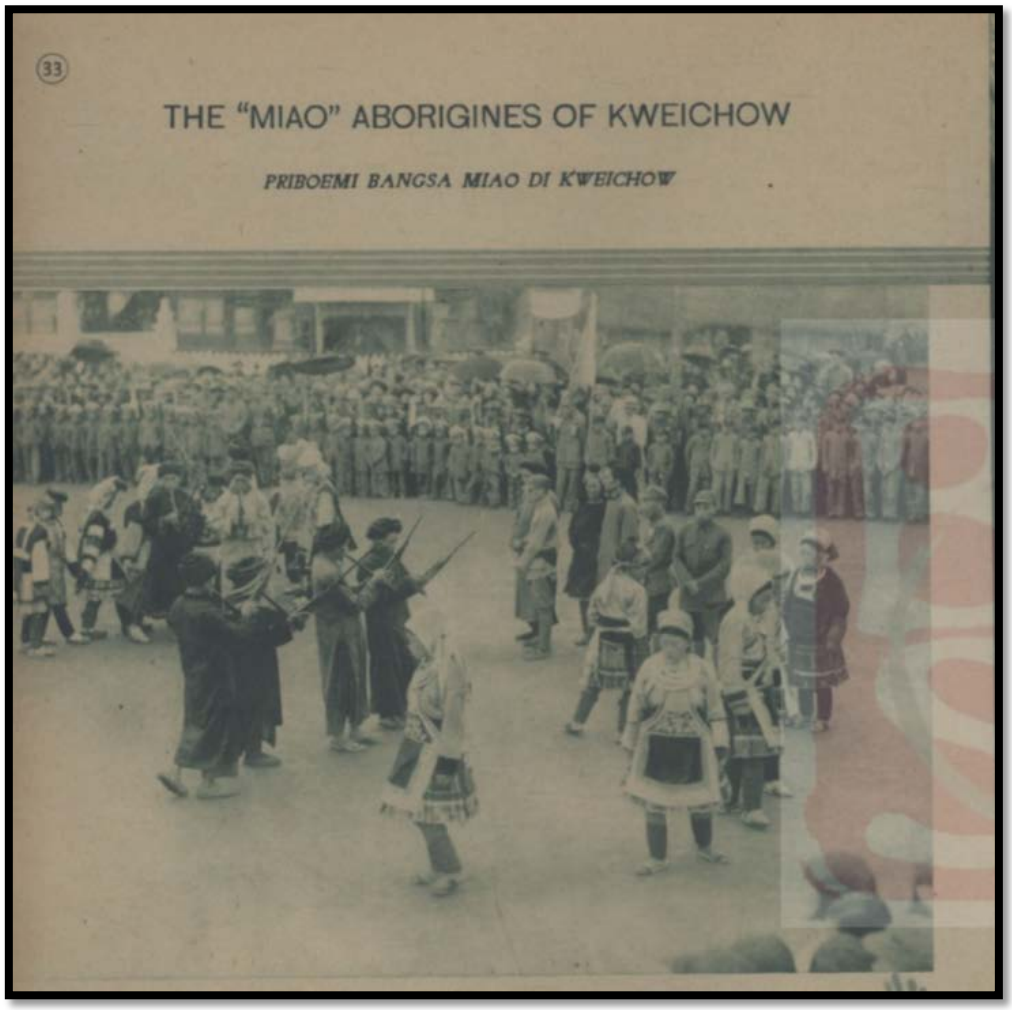

Figure 2. 22, Jiaochao 焦超, Photograph of "Guizhou Miaomin 貴州苗民," *Zhonghua (Shanghai)* 中华 (上海), 89 (1940): 24.

[93] Biyun, "Miaozu de Hunyin," 16.

Additionally, being regarded as equivalent to the process of love, the *Tiaoyue* custom was exclusively associated with the young and the unmarried. For example, in an article in *Zhongmei Zhoubao* 中美週報, a newspaper established in New York in 1949 for the Chinese in America, an author, writing under the name Sanren 散人, interpreted *Tiaoyue* as an assembly of singing and dancing for the selection of partners among unmarried women and men.[94] He or she observes that:

> The 6th of June is their big annual festival. On this night, the unmarried women and men get together, celebrating *Tiaoyue* in the wild. *Tiaoyue* means that the unmarried women and men dance and sing together in a certain season, looking for partners. In addition to dancing and singing, they throw a small round ball woven of colourful string, expressing their mutual love. If both sides agree, a (omitted in the text) will be provided as betrothal gift. After the congratulations of relatives and friends, they become a new couple.
>
> 一年一度的六月六日是他們的大節， 在這一天的晚上， 聚集著許多未婚的男女, 在曠野舉行跳月 （跳月是他們未婚男女在一定的季節互相歌舞, 尋求配偶的一種集會名稱)， 且歌且舞， 還用彩線編著一個圓圓的小球， 相互拋擲， 表示兩相愛慕的意思. 如果是雙方都同意了， 就以一隻作為聘禮，待親友們祝賀以後， 便算是一對新夫婦了.[95]

Moreover, a group of students who visited villages in Guizhou during their summer holiday in 1942 interpreted:

> *Tiaoyue* is the most natural form of *Lian'ai* (love). There are no limitations, no suspicions or jealousy and nothing unnatural or pretentious. All that is needed is for the woman and the man to agree, then they become a couple.
>
> 跳月是最自然戀愛方式， 在其間沒有限制沒有猜忌沒有矯情， 只要男女兩方能夠合意， 便可以成為配偶.[96]

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[94] Sanren 散人, "Miaozu Hunsu 苗族婚俗 (Marriage Custom of Miao)," *Zhongmei Zhoubao* 中美週報, 344 (1949): 30-31.
[95] Ibid, 31.
[96] Li Ren 裡仁, "Guan Tiaoyue Ji 觀跳月記 (Record of Watching Moon Dancing)," *Xuesheng Zhiyou* 學生之友, 3, 2 (1941): 26-27.

The word *lian'ai* was used to describe *Tiaoyue*. In several Republican writings on *Tiaoyue*, they repeated some late imperial sources, including those from Miao album texts, the aforementioned *Dongxi Xianzhi* by Lu Ciyun and the poem on Tiaoyue of Bei Qingqiao, while just adding a new title such as *Lian'ai*, and also *hunli* 婚禮 (marriage rites, or marriage ceremony) to redefine *Tiaoyue*.[97] In general, marriages among many ethnic groups were regarded as a form based on free choice when dancing and singing. For example, Figure 2. 23 portrays the young Mexie 麼些 of Yunnan chasing each other in the wild, and the annotations below suggest that they consequently live a very happy life.

Figure 2. 23, Anonymous, Photograph of "Mexie 麼些," *Liangyou* 良友, 158 (1940): 36.

[97] Anonymous, "Tiaoyue: Miaoren zhi Hunli 跳月: 苗人之婚禮 (Dancing in the Moonlight: the Miao Marriage Ceremony)," *Da Guanyuan* 大觀園, 1, 10 (1939):10; You Yangsheng 酉陽生 " "Tiaoyue Hui": Miaosu Hunli Mingci "跳月會": 苗俗婚禮名詞 (Party of Dancing in the Moonlight): a term for the Marriage Ceremony of Miao)," *Liyan Huakan* 立言畫刊 (1939): 12; Yong Xia 泳霞, "Guizhou Miaomin de Fengsu 貴州苗民的風俗 (Marriage Customs of Miao in Guizhou), *Minzhong Zhiyou* 民眾之友, 1, 8 (1935): 14-16; Bei Zimu 貝子木, "Shixuan: Tiaoyue Ge 詩選:跳月歌 (Poem Selection: Song of Moon Dancing)," *Dongfang Zazhi* 東方雜誌, 7 (1911): 21.

In her article tracing the translation of the neologism *lian'ai* in modern China, Yang Lianfen probes the connotations of love between the sexes.[98] Yang observes that in premodern Chinese literature, it was *Qing* 情 which was utilised to convey affection between boys and girls or the private affection between men and women.[99] The foreign missionaries of the 19th century firstly translated the English "love" into Chinese *Ai* or *Lian'ai* to express "love" and "like" in a broad sense. Japanese influence was, however, more important in the word's introduction into modern Chinese in the sense of love between men and women. It was not until the 1910s that the word *lian'ai* exclusively "indicated mutual love between the sexes" endowed with modern connotation in terms of its mode, meaning, experience and association with individual will and equality between the sexes.[100] Before the May Fourth Movement, 'love' was often used in mass media to indicate adultery, secret affairs and other immoral and unreasonable relations between the sexes. It was only afterwards that *lian'ai* began to be used more frequently in popular romantic novels.[101] *Lian'ai*, used in descriptions of the marriage customs of ethnic minorities in southwestern China, apparently carried the sense of selecting marriage partners based on affection between a young woman and a man. This usage of *Lian'ai* was thus a reflection of an ideology that developed after the May Fourth period.

The localisation of *Lian'ai* in China also links to a spectrum of other concepts, including the advocacy of free marriage without parental interference or betrothal gifts, the liberation of women, lifting of sexual regulations and even eugenics and the fate of a nation.[102] The principle argument for this "new sexual morality" advocates the union of soul and carnality, suggesting that mutual affection is the precondition of intercourse in the 1920s. Such arguments were challenged at the end of the 1920s by an insistence that spirit and flesh are separate and that intercourse has nothing to do with love.[103] The

[98] Lianfen Yang, ""Love" as the Key Word: New Sexual Morality and New Literature in the Late Qing and Early Republican Years (1900-1920)," *Social Sciences in China,* 35, 4 (2014): 66.
[99] Ibid, 66
[100] Ibid, 67.
[101] Ibid, 70-1.
[102] Mirela David, "Free Love, Marriage, and Eugenics: Global and Local Debates on Sex, Birth Control, Venereal Disease and Population in 1920s-1930s China," (Ph.D. Diss., New York University, 2014), 37.
[103] Xu Huiqi 許慧琦, "Funü Zazhi suo Fanyin de Ziyou Lihun Sixiang jiqi Shijian: Cong Xingbie Chayi Tanqi 婦女雜誌所反映的自由離婚思想及其實踐—從性別差異談起 (The Ideas and Practices of Free Divorce Reflected in the Journal of Women : Talking with Gender differences)," *Jindai Zhongguo Funüshi Yanjiu* 近代中國婦女史研究, 12 (2004): 69-114.

following sections elucidate further the ideology of freedom, equality, women's liberation and sexual freedoms, entwined within love.

A romantic land with freedom: *Ze'ou* 擇偶 (choice), *Lihun* 離婚 (divorce) and *Taohun* 逃婚 (escape before the wedding night)

When the concept of *Lian'ai* was localised in China, it was immediately bound up with freedom, breaking away from Confucian rites' oppressive shaping of society in Imperial China. These freedoms contain the right to free choice of marriage partners, the freedom to divorce and even the abolition of marriage as a social institution.[104] Acting as a moral and legal arbiter, it in effect appropriated authority to determine what constituted a proper marriage and how family relations should be ordered, prescribing when to marry, who could marry, how to marry, and when to permit divorce.[105] These ideas were again applied to theorise non-Han marriage customs and we find the discourses of z*e'ou ziyou* 擇偶自由, *lihun* 離婚 and *taohun* 逃婚 employed frequently in articles pertaining to non-Han customs, reflecting Han Chinese concerns around the suitable age for marriage, how marriage could be best organised as a social institution, and how freedom could be achieved.

The discussion of this section starts with a photographic page in *Liangyou* by the well-known Republican photographer and journalist Zhuang Xueben 莊學本 (1909－1984). In the center of the page (Figure 2. 23), we see a girl's smiling face seemingly still showing puppy fat, the annotation on the left describing her as a girl whose marriageable age has "arrived", and that such girls are called "A Gu". Also in the two images at the bottom left, a girl holds an ox standing in the wild. She turns her back and it seems that she is looking at or for something. The accompanying text says that she is "默默含情田野候會的阿姑 (an A Gu anxiously waiting for her lover in the fields)" and in English, "Anxiously waiting for her lover". In another image, an A Gu and her lover walk hand in hand in the countryside. The Chinese and English annotation describes this as "與子偕行， 男女相悅， 執手出遊 (Youths walking together, boy and girl enjoying one another's company, going out hand-in-hand) and in English, "two hearts beat as one." The image on the bottom left shows a couple hand in hand, standing in sunshine, with the caption "因為戀愛自由所以青海人的夫婦都是年紀相當而恩愛的 (Because of their freedom to fall in

[104] Yang, "'Love' as the Key Word," 71-72.
[105] Susan Glosser, *Chinese Visions of Family and State, 1915-1953* (Berkeley, CA; London: University of California Press, 2003).

love, Qinghai husbands and wives are all of an appropriate age and feel loving affection) and in English, “a pair of happily married couple” [sic]. The image on the top right is a photography; apparently of a girl making a present for her lover.

Figure 2. 24, Zhuang Xueben 莊學本, Photographs of “Lianai Zai Qinghai: Xiyouji Dierji 戀

愛在青海：西遊記第二集 (Love in Qinghai: the Second Episode of A Western Journey)," *Liangyou* 良友，116 (1936): 40.

Following the images, there is a further section of text at the bottom of the image, adding more detail on marriage customs:

> When girls turn fifteen, they can enjoy a free choice of partner. When they grow up, they need to keel to their parents, heaven and earth, tying together the ends of the braid called *Dai Tiantou* (wearing heaven's head). Afterwards, they are called A Gu, accorded the privilege of free love. They can know many other men outside, looking for a lover, and their parents and brothers cannot ask about it.
>
> 女子到了十五歲，便能享有擇偶的自由，她們長成了，向父母天地跪拜，將背後髮辮尾稍連結起來，就稱做戴天頭，此後她們就被稱為阿姑，得到自由戀愛的專利，在外而結交男人找尋愛人，父母兄弟都不能過問的.[106]

The images in this newspaper and the annotations are indeed replete with information. This land is portrayed as an area with the greatest freedom of spousal choice, with parents and brothers barred from intervening. A large part of the texts and several images emphasise the freedom of girls and the benefits of free choice in marriage. The film *Qin Liangyu*, discussed in the first chapter, where Qin is played by Chen Yunchang, the film was designed to shape an feminist image for her, and her love story and free choices were highlighted, as the posters in the periodical of *Qingqing Dianying* (Figure 2. 25) indicate.

[106] Zhuang, "Lianai Zai Qinghai," 40.

Figure 2. 25, Ma Yonghua 马永华, Photography of "Zhongguo Yinmu shangde Yidui Qinglu: Chen Yunchang and Meixi 中國銀幕上的一對情侶:陳雲裳與梅熹," *Qingqing Dianying* 青青電影, 5, 7 (1940): 2.

Free choice in marriage was a major theme of the "new culture movement", which began in 1915,[107] and was later codified in Guomindang law.[108] From the 1930s on, the CCP also promulgated marriage reform, including freedom of marriage, abolition of bride purchase, imposing a minimum age for marriage and permitting divorce under certain specified conditions, as means to mobilise young men and women. [109] This account of Qinghai Tibetan girls' marriage customs clearly reflects Han Chinese concerns of women's free choice in marriage, which was also a core component of the concept of feminism in modern China.[110]

The above text also pays attention to the girl's age, fifteen years old; apparently a proper age for the pursuit of free love. In another travel account introducing Miao marriage customs, the age of fifteen was again emphasized:

Miao girls' bodies grow quite well. Those fifteen-year-old girls are already exactly

[107] Susan Glosser, "The Truths I Have Learned": Nationalism, Family Reform, and Male Identity in China's New Culture Movement, 1915–1923," in *Chinese Femininities/Chinese Masculinities: A Reader*, 122-140.
[108] Huang, "Women's Choices under the Law: Marriage, Divorce, and Illicit Sex in the Qing and the Republic Modern China," 3-58.
[109] Kathy Walker, "The Party and Peasant Women," in *Chinese Communists and Rural Society, 1927-1934*, eds., Philip Huang (Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, 1978), 57-82.
[110] Barlow, *The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism*, 117-8.

like an adult. It is said that this kind of selection for marriage is based on dance. If the woman has not borne a child after reaching the following year, then the man and woman could dance again. This is indeed quite a free method of selecting partners.

苗子女人發育都很好, 十五歲的姑娘, 已是個成人的樣子. 聽說這樣選擇成的婚姻, 如到了次年還沒有生育, 那麼男女仍可以再跳過, 這倒是很自由的擇配法呢.[111]

When was the proper age for getting married in modern China? Republican intellectuals and law-makers discussed and debated over the most suitable legal age for marriage, drawing on both pre-modern Confucian ideas and law in European countries. According to Confucian ideology, men are supposed to marry between sixteen and thirty and women between fourteen and twenty years old.[112] In the *Qingmo Hunyinfa Cao'an* 清末婚姻法草案 (*Draft for Marriage Law of Late Qing*), men are supposed to marry above the minimum age of eighteen and woman above sixteen.[113] In the early Republican *Draft of Law*, it was still eighteen for males and sixteen for females.[114] The debate continued; finally, the marriage law promulgated in Nanjing in the 1930s by the Republican government regulated the age for legal marriage as seventeen for men and fifteen for women.[115] Thus the description of fifteen as the age for Tibetan and Miao girls for dating and intercourse reflected ideas of the proper age for marriage in public debate and eventually promulgated in law. We are unsure to what extent these accounts accurately represent non-Han marriage customs or whether the ethnic minorities regulated marriage and sexual order through age, but it is certain that fifteen is indeed what the Han Chinese thought to be a proper age for marriage and sex.

Lihun (divorce) and *Taohun* (escape for love the night before an arranged wedding), are two other terms that were newly emerged to narrate non-Han marriage customs. In the aforementioned article on Miao marriage customs, Sanren (a pen-name), wrote that:

After the marriage, they pay a lot of attention to chastity on both sides. Not only

111 Bijun, "Miaozu de Hunyin," 16.
112 Chen Guyuan 陳顧遠, *Zhongguo Hunyinshi* 中國婚姻史 (*Marriage History in China*) (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 2014), 94-8.
113 Wang Xinyu 王新宇, "Minguo Shiqi Hunyin Fa Jindaihua Yuanjiu 民國時期婚姻法近代化研究 (*The Research on the Modernity of Republican Marriage Law*)," (Ph.D. Diss., Zhongguo Zhengfa Daxue, 2005), 10.
114 Ibid, 26-8.
115 Ibid, 37.

should the wife be loyal to the husband, but the husband should also remain loyal to the wife. However, if both agree, they enjoy absolute freedom to divorce: with no compensation and no alimony fee. The only conditions are that the leader of the community announce their divorce and they break a cup in front of the crowd and the elders, showing their resolution. If there are children, then boys belong to the father and girls belong to the mother. The process is indeed quite simple and the method is quite free, something we could not imagine achieving.

在他們結婚以後，對於雙方的貞操都很重視，不單女的要服從丈夫，就是丈夫也要服從女人．不過，要是雙方同意，離婚也絕對的自由：既沒有賠償金，也沒有贍養費，只要集族中長老宣佈離異，並在大家的面前擊破了杯來表示堅決，如果有孩子的話，那麼男的歸丈夫，女的歸女人．手續既簡便，方式更自由，真不是我們所能想像得到的.[116]

We are not sure from which sources Sanren's account was drawn, but some arguments, in particular the idea that "boys belong to the father and girls belong to the mother", are not found in other contemporary anthropological research, or in ethnography conducted in late Imperial China. The majority of this interpretation of Miao divorce was arguably conjured up, reflecting the author's imagination of an idealized blueprint for free divorce.

As a vital component of the spectrum of free marriage, the freedom to divorce was brought to public attention during the New Cultural movement and later codified in law of Republican China.[117] In 1930, the *Family Book of the Republican Civil Code* expanded the grounds for a judicial divorce and made ten grounds available to the husband or wife on an equal basis. These were bigamy, adultery, spousal intolerable cruelty, in-law intolerable cruelty, abandonment, intent or attempt to murder a spouse, incurable physical disease, incurable mental disease, lengthy disappearance, and imprisonment or the commission of an infamous crime.[118] The freedom to divorce under certain specific conditions was also listed in the marriage reforms of Chinese Communist Party in Northern China from the 1930s onwards.[119] The idea of divorce was also debated in

[116] Sanren, "Miaozu Hunsu," 31.
[117] Huang, "Women's Choices under the Law," 3-58.
[118] Kuo, *Intolerable Cruelty*, 112.
[119] Kathy Walker, "The Party and Peasant Women," in *Chinese Communists and Rural Society, 1927-1934*, eds., Philip Huang, Lynda Bell and Kathy Walker (Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, 1978), 57-82.

popular journals such as *Funü Zazhi* when Zhang Xichen was the editor.[120]

The modernisation of Chinese marriage and divorce laws has most commonly been explained in terms of the liberation of divorce and the expansion of women's rights.[121] This text stresses the equality between women and men's rights, that a man should also be loyal to his wife, and that divorce was based on mutual agreement. In Xu Huiqi's elaboration of the idea of divorce in *Funü Zazhi*, she discloses that it was developed exclusively among men and associated with male modernity.[122] The author wrote the article under a pen-name, so it is unknown whether they were male or female. If Xu was right, this is probably also a male voice.

An article by Zhao Bei'en 招北恩 (twentieth century), a graduate of Zhongshan University and headmaster of middle schools in Guangdong and Guizhou, "Diansheng Xinande Yizu 滇省西南的夷族 (The ethnic minority in southwest Yunnan province)", mentioned the custom of *Taohun*, or escaping before the night of the arranged wedding:

> Their marriage having been their own idea, they demand that their parents conduct it. If their parents do not agree, they, as a couple, will run away, out of the area known by their parents, escaping all that binds them, and then get married. Both he and she are rather strong. So if they escape to the mountains, they could build themselves a house and find their own food; thus their requests are mostly acceded to by their parents.
>
> 所以他們的婚姻倒是自己提出，要求父母執行．要是父母不允時，他們多一對對地跑出了他們父母所知的範圍之外去，脫離一切的縛束而自行結婚．他與她都很強健，縱然只他們兩人到山裡去他們也自能建築房屋,找尋食物；所以他們的要求，父母多數是聽從的.[123]

If parents did not agree with their free choice in marriage, the youths would run away to live in the mountain with the ones they loved. In Republican China, there were runaway cases of both wives and brides. Running away prevented divorce for wives, and whether a wife could run away depended on her relationship with her natal family. Afterwards,

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120 Xu, "Funü Zazhi suo Fanyin de Ziyou Lihun Sixiang jiqi Shijian," 69-114.
121 Ibid, 111.
122 Ibid, 103-5.
123 Zhao Bei'en 招北恩, "Diansheng Xinande Yizu 滇省西南的夷族 (The Yi in the Southwest of Dian Province)," *Guoli Zhongshan Daxue Yuyan Lishixue Yanjiusuo Zhoukan* 國立中山大學語言歷史學研究所週刊, 3, 35/36 (1928): 45-48 (45).

rather than divorce, cohabitation might be negotiated.[124] Cases of runaway fiancées are pervasive in Republican newspapers, among which more than half were women who had received higher education. [125] The majority of these escaped because they were unsatisfied with an arranged partner or because they had already had a lover.[126] The purpose of applying the idea of *Taohun* to the marriage customs of non-Han in the southwest is probably to seek inspiration to encourage the young Han to pursue free choice marriage.

Freedom, *Xing* 性 and women's desire

The last discourse examined in this section is *Xing*, a newly constructed word in the sense of intercourse between sexes in modern China, replacing the old word *se* 色 in the 1920s. Several scholars, including Frank Dikötter, Judith Farquhar, and Zhong Xueping have all mentioned that *Xing* did not mean 'sex' before the twentieth century. [127] In his article, "*Xing: The Discourse of Sex and Human Nature in modern China*," Leon Rocha has provided us deep insight into how the terminology of *Xing* (sex) was constructed in modern China, by asking 'what is the Chinese word for "sex"?' and how the word *Xing* has been used to describe carnality.[128] At the end of his article, Rocha asks "instead of focusing on how different parts of the sexual spectrum -heterosexuality, gay and lesbianism, transgender- manifest themselves in different parts of the world, as regional histories of sexuality have often tended to do, I propose that we may all start off with a much simpler question, what is the word for "sex" in this particular language, and why?" [129] Following Rocha's suggestions, I ask what the word *Xing* meant when it was applied to the marriage customs

[124] Kuo, *Intolerable Cruelty*, 151-52.
[125] Lei Jiaqing 雷家瓊, "Wusi Hou Shinian Jian Nvxing Taohun yu Hunyin Zizhuquan de Zhengqu 五四後十年間女性逃婚與婚姻自主權的爭取 (Women's Escape from Marriage and the Striving for Free-Choice Marriage in the Decade after May-Fourth," in *Jindai Zhongguo Shehui Yu Minjian Wenhua* 近代中國社會與民間文化, eds., Li Changli 李長莉 and Zuo Yuhe 左玉河 (Beijing: Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe: 2007), 267-291 (269).
[126] Ibid, 277.
[127] Frank Dikötter, *Sex, Culture and Modernity in China* (London: Hurst, 1995), 68; Judith Farquhar, *Appetites: Food and Sex in Post-Socialist China* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 250–55; Zhong Xueping, *Masculinity Besieged? Issues of Modernity and Male Subjectivity in Chinese Literature of the Late Twentieth Century* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 54.
[128] Leon Rocha, "Xing: The Discourse of Sex and Human Nature in Modern China," *Gender & History,* 22, 3 (2010): 603-628.
[129] Ibid, 619.

of the ethnic minorities in the southwest and what *Xing Ziyou* precisely referred to in an ethnographic context. This also contests how the exploration of sexual reform taking place among the metropolitan Han Chinese was used to sexualise the non-Han. Moreover, as non-Han marriage customs were a very popular topic, especially among commercial periodicals, this also reveals the alignment of Han men's sexual fantasies with marriage customs among the ethnic minorities in the southwest of China.

In the aforementioned article introducing Miao marriage customs in *Zhongmei Zhoubao*, Sanren claims that:

> The Miao of Kayou Kongjia, when selecting their partner, are rather free. Generally, they could have sexual activity with their partners while still young girls,. Even their parents cannot intervene, because love is the peak of meaning for their young women and men; love is also the principal living condition of the young women and men.
>
> 卡尤仲家苗族得男女擇配，非常自由，往往在少女時代，就和交接得朋友發生性的行為，即使是父母也不得加以干涉，因為戀愛．是他們青年男女生存意義的高峰，戀愛，是他們青年男女生活的主要的條件.[130]

The word *Xing* appears in the sentence "Generally when they are still young girls, they could have sexual behavior with her partner." *Xing* here then refers to sexual intercourse, echoing its new, post-1920s, connotation. Moreover, rather than young boys, it was the sexual freedom of young girls which was emphasised.

More explicitly, Yu Yongliang 余永梁 (1906-?), a researcher for Academia Sinica, wrote "*Tiaoyue*, what an eye-catching word." He used the phrases *Xing ziyou* 性自由 and *Xing de ziyou* 性的自由 in several parts of his article. Yu pointed out that in the marriage pairing of the races in the southwest, there were also situations where group marriage transformed into pairing marriage. In his word, "This is sexual freedom 這便是性的自由." The phrase *Xing de ziyou* was applied to interpret marriage among the ethnic minorities in the southwest. Then Yu compared those groups with indigenous peoples in other parts of the world including ancient Thrace and Crete, contemporary Indian, Malayan, Oceanian, and several American Indian peoples, where girls enjoy great sexual

[130] Sanren, "Miaozu Hunsu," 30.

freedom. Yu concluded that such examples could also be found among the races in the southwest of China. [131]

The sexual freedom in this text refers to the freedom of young girls to indulge in sexual intercourse before marriage. Yu continues to explain how the ethnic minorities were sexually free by investigating several Qing dynasty ethnographic sources. Yu's analysis of the marriage customs, as he pointed out in the article, was based on ethnographic documents rather than fieldwork. He referred to *Miaofang Beilan*, a book introducing Miao customs in Qing-era Guizhou.[132]

Yu's narratives offer us a good example of how premodern ethnography was reconceptualised with modern ideas. To Yu, the sexual freedom here relates to girls' choice to have premarital sex; he equates the custom of not valuing female virginity with sexual freedom.

Virginity and chastity are two important words in this text. The discussion of chastity in the 1910s and 1920s starts with Zhou Zuoren's 周作人 (1885-1967) translation of a Japanese feminist article, criticizing the prohibition of widow remarriage as oppression of women.[133] The widow chastity ideal was further criticized by Lu Xun 魯迅 and Hu Shi 胡適 in the May Fourth movement.[134] In this text on non-Han marriage customs, however, it mainly refers to the sexuality of virgins rather than widows.

Discussions of sexual freedom in Republican China are often bound up with the relationship between soul and carnality. [135] The union of soul and carnality is the main argument of *Xin Xing Daode* 新性道德 (new sexual morality) proposed by Zhou Zuoren and Zhang Xichen 章锡琛 (1889-1969).[136] They suggested that sexuality is moral only

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131 Yu, "Xinan Minzu de Hunyin," 7.
132 Ibid, 7-8.
133 Peng Xiaoyan 彭小妍, "Wusi de "Xin Xingdaode": Nüxing Qingyu Lunshu yu Jiangou Minzu Guojia 五四的新性道德: 女性情慾論述與建構民族國家 (New Sexual Morality during May Fourth: Sexual Desire of Women and the Construction of Nation)," *Jindai Zhongguo Funü Shi Yanjiu* 近代中國婦女史研究, 3 (1995): 77-96 (80).
134 Xu Huiqi 許慧琦, "1920 Niandai de Lianai yu Xin Xing Daode Lunshu- Cong Zhang Xichen Canyu de Sanci Lunzhan Tanqi 1920 代的 愛與新性道德 述—從章錫琛 與的三次 戰談起 (Argument on Love and New Sexual Morality in 1920s-Discussions from the Three Debates Participated in by Zhang Xichen)," *Jindai Zhongguo Funü Shi Yanjiu* 近代中國婦女史研究, 16 (2008): 29-92 (43).
135 Yu Hualin 余華林, "Xiandai Xingai Guannian yu Minguo shiqi de Feihun Tongju Wenti 現代性愛觀念與民國時期的非婚同居問題 (Modern Sexuality and Non-marriage Cohabitation in Republican China)," *Shoudu Shifan Daxue Xuebao* 首都師範大學學報, 1 (2009): 20-32.
136 Xu Huiqi 許慧琦, "1920 Niandai de Lian'ai yu Xin Xing Daode Lunshu," 29-92.

when people love each other. Although such arguments were attacked by the Republican activist Zhang Jingsheng 張競生 (1888-1970), and others at the end of the 1920s by arguments that true sexual freedom should not consider love, and intercourse was not subordinate to love,[137] in most cases the exploration of sexual freedom in the first half of the twentieth century was discussed within the context of the union of soul and carnality. The specific address of sexual culture to *shaonü* (young women) and *chunü* (virgins) in the above text quoted here strongly indicates that this freedom was conceived within the context of love, echoing the main argument of the union of soul and flesh in a "new sexual morality".

Additionally, in the discussion of sexuality in modern China, women's emancipation was also linked to the achievement of sexual climax, women's sexual desire and their positive role in intercourse. Such ideas were also reflected in some modern travel accounts from the southwest of China, such as Chen Chongsheng's 陳重生 *Xixing Yanyiji* 西行豔異記 (*Erotic Encounter on the Western Journey*).[138] As the fourth son of a local government official of Sichuan, Chen studied in Japan and returned to China in 1924. Afterwards, he travelled around Sichuan with a missionary and married an ethnic minority woman, with whose support he travelled around Tibet and Mongolia. When he was writing *Xixing Yanyiji*, he worked for a company in Singapore.[139] In one of the sections describing the naughty girls in Tibet, Chen wrote that:

> On the fourteenth, we reposed in Zhuonuo Guo'er, after breakfast, we intended to visit the mountain nearby, and the host's daughter and the five or six girls of the neigbour all eagerly contended to accompany us.....This crowd of young girls, aged eighteen and nineteen, were as naughty as children of five or six years old. In the middle of mountain climbing, they wanted to copulate with my wife and me on a whim.....Then I cheated them by saying that we could have a try after returning to the house. They then said it again, that my skin and body must be alien. They wanted me to show my naked body to them. I told them there should be no difference, but they did not listen to me at all. Finally all the girls touched my body; it had begun.
>
> 十四日，在綽諾果兒休息．早餐後，遊覽附近之山．主人兒女及鄰人少女五六人爭相偕行．… 次一群十八九歲之少女，乃頑皮如五六歲之小兒，在山半時，伊等

[137] Yu, "Xiandai Xing'ai Guannian," 23-4.
[138] Chen Chongsheng 陳重生, *Xixing Yanyiji* 西行豔異記 (*Erotic Encounter in the Western Journey*) (Shanghai: Shanghai Shibao, 1938).
[139] Ibid, vol 1, 1-2.

突發奇想，欲余夫婦性交．… 後乃詒以返寓可一試為詞飾之，圍乃解．伊等又臾言，欲之皮膚及身體組織，必有異人處，必欲餘一裸以示，幸生告以無他異，亦不聽，卒乃一一撫摸餘身，始已．[140]

Chen delineated a group of young Tibetan girls, who wanted to copulate with him in a group in the wild, and were curious about his body. Compared to the Tibetan girls, Chen was rather shy. Similar examples of active females are replete in many other parts of Chen's diary.[141] Chen, from time to time, slept with more than one women, and these women reportedly approached him voluntarily. The Tibetan women in Chen's article were very active in sexual intercourse, showing both curiosity and desire for sex.

The idea of women taking an active and dominant role in sexual intercourse was clearly stated by Zhang Jingsheng (1888－1970) in his argument on the esthetics of sex and the centrality of women. In his exploration and re-evaluation of Zhang Jingsheng's views on sex education and aesthetic education, Wai Siam Hee uncovers ideas of women's liberation concealed behind his rhetoric of sexuality.[142] Haiyan Lee also observes that sex, to Zhang, is in essence a form of play.[143] For example, the achievement of female climax is central to Zhang's argument of *Nüxing Zhongxin Shuo* **女性中心說**, "women's central position", asserting that women should be in a leading position in both sexual and national affairs.[144] In another article, "Meide Xingyu 美的性欲" published in *New Culture* in 1927, Zhang asserted that Han Chinese women were repressed during intercourse and had no interest in sex. Women are encouraged to achieve sexual climax. Zhang also asserted that only when women reached climax could infants of good quality be borne for the nation.[145] Thus many of his other publications also talk of the techniques of the bedchamber for achieving climax, for example, the stories and his comments in his well-known book *Xing shi* **性史** (*History of Sexuality*).[146] The techniques of the bedchamber

[140] Ibid, vol 3, 522-523.
[141] Ibid, vol 2, 247, 276, 287.
[142] Siam Hee Wai, "On Zhang Jingsheng's Sexual Discourse: Women's Liberation and Translated Discourses on Sexual Differences in 1920s China," *Frontiers of Literary Studies in China* 7, 2 (2013): 235-270
[143]Haiyan Lee, "Governmentality and the Aesthetic State: A Chinese Fantasia Positions," *East Asia Cultures Critique*, 14, 1 (2006):104 (99-129)
[144] Peng, "Wusi de "Xin Xingdaode"," 89.
[145] Zhang Jingsheng 張競生, "Mei de Xingyu 美的性欲 (Beautiful Sexual Desire)," *Xin Wenhua* 新文化 1, 2 (1927): 23-48.
[146] Zhang Jingsheng 張競生, *Xingshi* 性史 (*History of Sexuality*) (Beijing: Shijie Tushu Beijing Chuban Gongsi, 2014).

were also introduced to a female audience in *Linglong*, a periodical of male-dominated authorship.[147] The description of the active Tibetan girls reflects some ideas of liberating women and strengthening the nation through women taking a leading role in sex and the achievement of climax through bedchamber techniques.

Apart from social reform, writing on sexually active ethnic minority women was also a reflection of the male Han Chinese sexual imaginings of the borderlands. After the publication of *Xixing Yanyiji*, Chen was criticised by his contemporaries, despite his claim that it was adopted from his diary and *Jieshu shishi* 皆屬事實 (all are true facts); it was his brother who pushed him to publish later in 1929.[148] For example, an author writing under the pseudonym Tian'an 天岸 asked a staff-member of the Tibetan and Mongolian committee of more than twenty years standing for his comment on the credibility of *Xixing Yanyiji.* This government official also suggested that Chen had not visited Kangzang at all and used the phrase *Yiwei Hushuo* 一味胡說 (complete drivel), to describe Chen's travel accounts.[149]

Another Tibetan, Yang Zhonghua 楊仲華, stated sharply that:

> Regarding the part of Xikang in *Xixing Yanyiji*, in addition to the names of some big counties that every one knows, all the other names, I am really wondering, come from which planet? Not mention that we, the locals who are born and grew up in Xikang, cannot recognize them, it is even impossible to trace the names of these places in *Xiyou Ji* and *Fengsheng Bang.*
>
> 西行豔異記關於西康一部分, 除了幾個盡人皆知的大縣名外, 所有的地名不知道從哪一個星球飛來的. 不說是我們生長西康的人沒有經歷過, 這些地方, 就是西遊記封神榜上, 也怕找不出這些大地名來.[150]

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[147] Zhang Peilin 章霈琳, "Xingwenhua Yu Qikan Chuban: Yi *Linglong* (1931-37) Weili 性文化與期刊出版: 以玲瓏 (1931-37)為例 (The Culture of Sexuality and Publications: The example of *Linglong* (1931-37) ," *Jindai Zhongguo Funüshi Yanjiu* 近代中國婦女史研究, 25 (2015):162.
[148] Chen, *Xixing Yanyi Ji*, vol 1, 1-2.
[149] Tian'an 天岸, "Guanyu Xixing Yanyi Ji 關於西行艷異記 (On the *Erotic Encounter on the Western Journey*)," *Xinya Xiya* 新亞細亞, 1, 5 (1931): 133.
[150] Yang Zhonghua 楊仲華, "Ping Suowei "Xixing Yanyi Ji": 評所謂"西行艷異記" (Comments on the So Called *Erotic Encounter on the Western Journey*)," *Xinya Xiya* 新亞細亞, 1, 5 (1931): 121-125 (122).

Yang finally concluded that he dared to say that Chen did not visit any of the places he had claimed to.[151] This is not to suggest Yang was right in calling Chen a liar; as Yang was Tibetan, the contrast could be ascribed to their different ethnicities. This is probably the only ethnic minority voice heard in this dissertation. The self-represention of the local might be quite different from the way they are represented by the Han Chinese. Meanwhile, Chen probably did conjure up several stories, in particular the sexual encounters with the local non-Han people and the unrestricted sexual behaviour of Tibetan women. These imaginings were designed for consumption as sexual culture among Han Chinese, and his stories were so popular that after publication in *Shanghai Shibao* they were edited for sale in book form.

Although non-Han sexuality was re-interpreted and re-fashioned according to modern discourses, it was not loudly advocated, unlike the previous chapter where the non-Han were conceived as China's domestic feminists, and several authors stated that they were the independent women from whom the Han Chinese needed to learn. One possible reason for this is the limited influence of sexual reforms. Although ideas of a new sexual order were advocated by activists in periodicals such as *Funü Zazhi*, *Xin Nüxing*, *Xin Wenhua*, *Linglong* and *Mangyuan,* we also need to recognise the giant social stresses these activists had to face and the compromises made. After the publication of *Xingshi*, Zhang Jingsheng was fired by Beijing University and left for Shanghai. His bookshop, *Meide Shudian*, where his aesthetics of sexuality were disseminated, was also forced to close.[152] After the publication of the issue on the new morality of sex, Zhang Xichen, the editor of the journal *Funü Zazhi* (*Journal of Women*), was dismissed by the Shangwu print house. Zhou Zuoren, in *Yu Youren Lun Xing Daode shu* 與友人論性道德書 (*Letter on discussing sexual morality with friends*) in 1925, also noted the limited success of the new sexual morality.[153]

What, then, could be the other purposes of sexualising the non-Han peoples? At the end of his article addressing Miao marriage, Luo Rongzong 羅榮宗, an anthropologist in Sichuan, made a clear statement of some intellectuals' attitudes towards the *Tiaoyue*

[151] Ibid, 125.
[152] Zhang Jingsheng 張競生, *Zhang Jingsheng Wenji* 張競生文集 (*Anthology of Zhang Jingsheng*) (Guangzhou: Guangzhou Chubanshe, 1998), 6.
[153] Kaiming 開明, "Yu Youren Lun Xing Daode Shu 與友人論性道德書 (Letter of Discussing the Sexual Morality with Friends)," *Yusi* 語絲, 26 (1925): 4-6.

marriage custom:

> Make them come into contact with Han Chinese culture, and change the life values of the young Miao, make them build a proper morality and conscience; this has been our practice with regard to any of their customs; in all cases, we (Han Chinese) should not retain the slightest disdain for them, instead we need to adopt a scholarly attitude and perform research on them like scholars; this includes Miao marriage.
>
> 使與漢族文化接觸, 更需改變苗族青年之人生觀, 使其建立合理道德之觀念, 是以吾人對於苗族之任何風俗習慣, 皆不可存絲毫鄙視之心, 而須以學者態度研究之, 苗族婚姻其一也.[154]

On one side, the Miao were expected to become assimilated to Han Chinese culture, so that the young Miao could develop a better morality; on the other side, Luo also reminds the public that their customs should not be despised. Their land was regarded as a part of China, and they were people waiting to be enlightened. Apart from the reminder not to despise their customs, the ideas of assimilating their culture were similar to those expressed by several Han literati as discussed in the previous section on late imperial China. The *Tiaoyue* narratives were also very much dependent on the background of the author, the uses of the source material and the readership. In many of the articles in popular periodicals, *Tiaoyue* was romanticised within fashionable discourses of free love, free divorce, and free sex, to stir readers' imaginations about an utopian borderland far away from the cities. In some stories, novels, and travel accounts, descriptions of sexual encounters with active and open non-Han women were probably intended for consumption by urban commoners as eroticism; some intellectuals, like Luo, might also consider the need to assimilate for the sake of the nation.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has examined China's imperial and visual regimes of sexuality in the southwest borderlands, a favorite topic in both official and popular ethnography. The

[154] Luo Rongzong 羅榮宗, "Miaozu de Hunyin 苗族的婚姻 (Marriage of the Miao People)," *Guoshi Jikan* 國師季刊, 9 (1941): 37.

narratives of sexuality among non-Han peoples are ways to distinguish the Han Chinese from the various ethnic minorities, as their *Tiaoyue* marriage customs, under which the young chose their own partner and sex was unrestricted, differed greatly from Han Chinese marriage rites and procedures requiring match-maker, bridal gifts, and fortunate dates to be prepared and arranged. The popularisation of images of the naked female body, scenes of copulation and dance scenes reflect the sexual imaginings of male Han literati toward the ethnic minorities. Meanwhile, strong words like 'lewd', often used to comment on non-Han marriage customs and sexuality, were applied in particular to judge unmarried girls and widows. The power to represent the non-Han subject was built upon a binary of chastity and lust defined by sexual regulations in Han Chinese culture. When the Chinese empire encountered non-Han sexuality, it had the ambition of enlightening them or assimilating them with Confucian marriage rites, which comprise another important dimension of the Chinese imperial engagement with sexual order.

In Republican China, photography concerning the *Tiaoyue* marriage customs was refashioned and *Tiaoyue* reframed as a romantic practice of free love and privilege of sexual freedom. The new Republican sexual regulations, in terms of free choice in marriage, proper intercourse and marriage age, utopian imagination of sexual freedom, divorce and escape from arranged marriages for love were all utilised to reinterpret ethnic minority marriage customs, which offered an alternative sexual order for the urban population to consider. In order to fit the blueprint of a modern marriage and sexuality that would make people live freely and happily and make China stronger, some accounts were either invented or presented a mix of imperial ethnography and modern imagination. The fantasies of non-Han marriage customs in a number of popular periodicals and novels were inseparable from the great visual and textual market for consuming exotic and erotic stories.

Compared to European imperial sexual experiences, China seems to show more ambition to assimilate non-Han marriage customs, as a way of better integrating them into the map of China. Moreover, the sexual morality restrictions on virgins and widows and the marriage rites and procedures of the elite Han Chinese were central to understanding the power of images alluding to sexuality. In Republican China, the ways in which Chinese intellectuals searched for modernity, social reform and new sexual orders added to the uniqueness of representation applied to the non-Han peoples.

Indeed, it is impossible to understand China's imperial experiences and the visual representations of ethnic minorities without considering the significant role of sexuality.

Chapter Three: *Yiguan Zhuangmao* 衣冠狀貌 (Clothes, hat, and physical body): Materialising and symbolising human variations

Figure 3. 1, anonymous, "Daya Gelao 打牙仡佬," in an untitled album, undated (approximately 18th or 19th century), Wellcome Trust Collection, London.

Figure 3. 2, anonymous, "Daya Gelao 打牙仡佬," in an album of *Miaoman Tushuo* 苗蠻圖說, undated (approximately 1930s or 1940s), Library of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing.

From the perspective of body and clothing as indicators of identity, this chapter examines the significance of these aspects as another powerful visual grammar in Miao albums and their manipulation to exhibit a superior and inferior binary coding, to weave a web of narrative of human variation, and to constitute China's imperial order. The conceptualisation of races and ethnic classifications in modern China adds even more complexity to our comprehension of how the body was conceived as the cause of human variation and how the supposedly "biological" aspects of diversity negotiate their relations with politics. Investigating the localisation in China of bodied representations in anthropometric photography introduced from Europe and America, this chapter also explores the bio-politics of human variation and the concealed ideology of nation-building in modern China, contesting the political adoption of scientific theories.

Although several parts of this chapter deal with the representation and configuration of an ethnographic body, it is still intimately associated with gender and women. For example, the discussion of representations of exposed bare feet in Miao albums is inseparable from the practice and culture of footbinding among privileged Han women. Moreover, this chapter has to deal with one of the most vital changes, in the form of the feminised representation of non-Han subjects. In late imperial China, Miao albums and other ethnographic illustrations contain figures of both men and women, while in the Republican era, women in festival clothes were singled out to represent their ethnic groups, particularly in popular periodicals and newspapers. From the viewpoint of body and clothes, this chapter probes the process of the visual feminisation of ethnic minorities.

Following the previous two chapters, this chapter also examines how body and clothes are linked in Chinese thinking. Clothing regulations, and the social hierarchy of physiognomy embedded in bodies and garments, again make the Chinese imperial model distinct from European trajectories and experiences. For example, the idealised gender order and social hierarchy embedded in the practice of footbinding among Han Chinese make the feet of ethnic minorities a significant concern in late imperial ethnographic writing. The hierarchy and social orders refracted through clothes in Confucian rites and imperial clothing regulations also contrast starkly with the absence of finery in non-Han festivals and weddings as seen in Miao albums. These all mark characteristically Chinese imperial and cultural trajectories.

My investigation of body and clothing attributes to their significant roles in the knowledge/power production processes of non-Han representation in both visual and

textual forms. Ideas of body and clothes as indicators of identity in pre-modern China are evidently presented through the Qing-era imperial edict pertaining to the depiction of *Huangqing Zhigong Tu* 皇清職貢圖 (*Imperial Tributary Illustrations*), which claims that:

> Our dynasty rules the universe. Both the internal and external barbarians are willing to be civilised. While their clothes, hats, and appearances are quite different from each other. Paying attention to clothes, the local government officials should send their sketches, including the Miao, Yao, Li, Zhang and foreigners to the court, so that we can show off the prosperity of our empire.
>
> 我朝統一區宇, 內外苗夷, 輸誠向化, 其衣冠狀貌, 各有不同, 著沿邊各督撫, 于所屬苗猺黎獞, 以及外夷番眾, 仿其服飾, 繪圖送軍機處, 匯齊呈覽, 以昭王會之盛.[1]

The edict clearly points out that *Yiguan Zhuangmao* 衣冠狀貌 (clothes, hats, physical body and appearances) of non-Han were different, highlighting the importance of clothes and body to visualising the ethnic minorities. The attention to the pivotal role of physical traits and costumes in depicting the non-Han was not restricted to the Qing dynasty, but was in fact a convention of making ethnographic illustrations in China. For example, when discussing the responsibility of Zhifang Yuanwailang (Vice Director to the Bureau of Operations) in *Tang Liudian* 唐六典, which was mentioned earlier in the introduction, it specifies that *Rongzhuang Yifu* 容狀衣服 (Physical features and clothes) should be depicted.[2] And also, in the preface to *Xiyu Tuji*, Pei Ju also highlighted that *Fushi Yixing* 服飾儀形 (costumes, rites and physical traits) have to be considered when making images to represent the *Xiyu* (western countries).[3]

Both appearance and clothing have long been considered crucial aspects necessary to investigate when depicting either domestic non-Han peoples or foreigners. This emphasis on clothes and physical traits was also evidentially visualised in Miao albums - the bodies of non-Han people were depicted following certain visual codes. Turning to Republican China, although still reacting to the imperial legacy, body and clothes

[1] Wei, "Huang Qing Zhigongtu Chuangzhi Shimo," 10.
[2] Li, *Tang Liudian*, 161-2.
[3] Wei, *Suishu,* 1061.

continued to be manipulated in new ways to reconceptualise and re-visualise the non-Han subject under the influence of European and American anthropometry, photography and museum collections.

Body and clothing play a pivotal role in the British imperial experience. In the previous chapter on sexuality, colonised people were assumed to have carnal bodies with much stronger sexual desire and ability, which was, however, less regulated.[4] Among the scholarship on European cultural imperialism, several scholars have realised the power of the body in constructing racial hierarchy.[5] One of the most obvious aspects is the concern with skin colour, for example, with white skin being regarded as a privileged colour among Europeans, even the relatively white in the colony being unable to compete with the European white, and brown and black skin signifying non-European inferiority.[6] In her study of physiognomy in the Victorian age, Mary Cowling reveals that artists were supposed to depict people of different classes and races employing a certain physiognomical language.[7] For example, those considered primitive were supposed to receive animal-like depictions. Under the influence of anthropometry, the depiction of the size and shape of the brain, the skull, the proportions of face, forehead and chin were all supposed to follow specific types.[8]

The understanding of the representation of the body is inseparable from clothing if the body is understood in a cultural sense.[9] The identity exhibited by the body is often materialized through clothing or its absence. In addressing the European imperial ways of seeing and representing the clothes of the people of Asia, Florina Baker has examined some books of Philippino costume, which, though traditionally understood to be local products illustrating the Philippines, were later found to have been made in Canton and then exported.[10] Baker suggests that the gold ornaments and jewellery of necklace,

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[4] Antoinette Burton, "The Toots that Clutch: Bodies, Sex and Race since 1750," in *Routledge History of Sex and the Body*, 511-526 (511).
[5] Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, eds., *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (London: Duke University Press, 2005).
[6] Catherine Hall, "Of Gender and Empire: Reflections on the Nineteenth Century," in *Gender and Empire*, 48-77 (49).
[7] Mary Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist: the Representation of Type and Character in Victorian Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 54-69.
[8] Ibid, 182-5.
[9] Mary, Douglas, "The Two Bodies," in *The Body, A Reader*, eds., Mariam Fraser and Monica Greco (London: Routledge, 2005), 78-81.
[10] Florina Capistrano Baker, *Multiple Originals, Original Multiples: 19th-century Images of Philippine Costumes* (Ayana Foundation, 2004), 18.

armlets, rings, earrings, and head ornaments were depicted to identify the Philippines as the locality.[11] In his study of photographs of Japan taken by Europeans, Luke discloses the remarkable role of costume in nineteenth-century photography of Japanese subjects. Reviving the tradition of the eighteenth-century costume book, modern photography also made the best use of costume to identify Asian types.[12] Compared to European imperialism, it seems that it is more complicated and dynamic in representing the non-Han through clothes/the absence of clothes because of the morality and rites embedded in clothing by the late imperial social order. This chapter thus investigates the Chinese imperial (in the sense of both Qing imperial rule and Republican-era fashioning of colonial alterity) engagement with body and clothing.

With a specific reference to the representation of ethnic minorities in China, several scholars have noticed the remarkable role played by the body. For example, James Millward has studied the popular legend of the Qianlong Emperor's 乾隆 (1711–1799) Uyghur Muslim concubine, Xiangfei 香妃 (The Fragrant Concubine), whose body was said to emit a mysterious fragrance without recourse to perfumes or powders.[13] Although the tale of Xiangfei has various versions, it seems that all share one similarity in that her body was fragrant, even being surrounded by butterflies in the more fanciful versions. Xiangfei's fragrant body discloses the Qing tendency to exoticise the bodies of Uyghur women. Focusing on ethnic illustrations depicting the indigenous Taiwanese, Emma Teng also notes that "visual signs of savagery such as nakedness, tattoos, piercings, bulging muscles, and belligerent postures were clearly displayed on their bodies."[14] Although referring to a much earlier period, Marc Abramson has also demonstrated the power of the body of northern non-Han subjects.[15] He observes that "deep eyes and high noses" was the most common phrase used to describe non-Han physiognomy in the Tang era.

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[11] Florina Capistrano-Baker, Pieter ter Keurs, and Sandra B. Castro, *Embroidered Multiples: 18th-19th Century Philippine Costumes from the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, the Netherlands* (Metro Manila: Royal Netherlands Embassy Ayala Founation, INC, 2007), 46.
[12] Luke Gartlan, "Types or Costumes? Refraining Early Yokohama Photography," *Visual Resources,* 22, 3 (2006): 239-263.
[13] James Millward, ''A Uyghur Muslim in Qianlong's Court: The Meaning of the Fragrant Concubine," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 53 (1994): 427-458 (437). For an artistic discussions over the paintings pertaining Xiangfei, see Yu Shanpu 於善浦, *Qianlong Huangdi de Xiangfei* 乾隆皇帝的香妃 (*Fragrant Concubine of Emperor Qianlong*) (Beijing: Zhongguo Renmin Daxue Chubanshe, 2012).
[14] Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*, 171-2.
[15] Abramson, *Ethnic Identity in Tang China*; Abramson, "Deep Eyes and High Noses: Physiognomy and the Depiction of Barbarians in Tang China," 119–59.

Moreover, a curly or thick beard was another feature of barbarian men; hairstyle was also a significant marker of the barbarian figure in texts and images.[16]

For centuries historians and commentators in and of China have clearly recognised that clothing and the regulation of clothing were considered very important in social ordering and the marking of chronological or status difference in imperial China. The well-known novelist Shen Congwen 沈從文 (1902-1988) studied the different styles and cultures of clothes in various dynasties in the 1980s.[17] In the past decades, many works have been published introducing the periodical styles of clothes and ornament and museum collections.[18] Recognising the importance of clothing in constructing the Chinese social hierarchy and the regulation of people's activities, Zujie Yuan has examined the clothing system under the Ming dynasty.[19] Yuan observes that the Great Ming Commandment (Da Ming Ling) issued in 1368 contains specific regulations for people of different social status regarding colour, form, ornament and materials for clothes, as an expression of an idealised stable society, which was eroded by the commercialisation starting in the mid-Ming.[20] Ann Waltner also demonstrates the significance of capping and hair-pinning ceremonies in men's and women's life-cycle rituals.[21]

Regarding the importance of costume and ceremony to East Asian political and cultural order, Ge Zhaoguang's interrogation of Korean diplomats' encounters in Qing China stimulated by the vanishing of Ming official costumes is fascinating. Among the Korean envoys' travel accounts we find severe and sharp criticism of hair cutting and

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[16] Abramson*, "Deep Eyes and High Noses,"* 124–5.
[17] Shen Congwen 沈從文, *Zhongguo Gudai Fushi Yanjiu* 中國古代服飾研究 (*Research on the Costume of Ancient China*) (Shanghai: Shanghai Shudian, 2005).
[18] Zhouxun 周汛 and Gao Chunming 高春明, *Zhongguo Fushi Wuqian Nian* 中國服飾五千年 (*Chinese Costume Over Five Thousand Years*) (Xianggang: Shangwu Yinshu Guan, 1984); Zhou Xibao 周錫保, *Zhongguo Gudai Fushishi* 中國古代服飾史 (*History of Clothes in Pre-Modern China*) (Beijing: Zhongyang Bianyi Chubanshe, 2011). Verity Wilson has introduced the costume collection in V&A, see Verity Wilson*, Chinese Dress* (London: Bamboo Publishing in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1990); For some brief introductions to Chinese costumes, see: Valery M. Garrett, *Chinese Clothing: An illustrated Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Claire Roberts, *Evolution & Revolution: Chinese Dress, 1700s-1990s* (Sydney: Powerhouse Pub., Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences, 1997).
[19] Zujie Yuan, "Dressing for Power: Rite, costume, and state authority in Ming Dynasty China," *Frontiers of History in China,* 2, 2 (2007): 181–212.
[20] Ibid, 187; 200-8.
[21]Ann Waltner, "The Moral Status of the Child in late Imperial China: Childhood in Ritual and Law," *Social Research,* 53, 4 (1986): 667-87.

changing clothing styles under Qing rule. The envoys' Ming style costumes being seen as exotic by the Han Chinese subjects of the Qing, they sighed for the loss of Ming culture and asked "where are the hats and clothes of the Ming Dynasty?"[22] In his lecture at the Harvard-Yenching institution, Ge spoke of a related event stimulated by clothing at Emperor Qianlong's eightieth birthday party in 1790.[23] Vietnam, Korea, the Ryukyu Islands, Burma, and Mongolia sent delegates to the Imperial summer resort to pay homage, and the Annamese embassy wore Qing-style clothing, which pleased Emperor Qianlong, but was despised by the Korean ambassadors, who asserted that only Ming clothing maintained the proper rites.[24]

Although academic interest in the history of human sciences in China is quite new, several important works have emerged. For example, in *The Cambridge History of Science, Volume 7: The Modern Social Sciences,* Bettina Gransow introduces the social sciences in China generally.[25] A special issue of *History of Science* edited by Howard Chiang expands our knowledge of several aspects of human sciences in modern China.[26] With regard to the human science of race in China, Frank Dikötter has demonstrated how the discourse of race was constructed in modern China, and the development of a superior Chinese body is one of his main concerns.[27] In terms of the origins of Chinese people, Sigrid Schmalzer has discussed the important discovery of Peking Man in constructing the origins of Chinese people.[28] The bilingual monograph *Johan Gunnar Andersson, Ding*

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[22] Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光, "Daming Yiguan Jin Hezai? 大明衣冠今何在? (Where is the Costume and Hat of the Great Brightness," *Shixue Yuekan* 史學月刊, 10 (2005): 41-48..

[23] Ge Zhaoguang, "Costume, Ceremonial, and the East Asian Order: What the Annamese King Wore When Congratulating the Emperor Qianlong in Jehol in 1790," *Frontiers of History in China,* 7, 1 (2012): 136-51.

[24] Ibid, 136-139.

[25] Bettina Gransow, "The Social Sciences in China," in *The Cambridge History of Science Volume 7: The Modern Social Sciences,* eds., Theodore Porter and Dorothy Ros (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 498–514.

[26] Howard Chiang, "Ordering the Social: History of the Human Sciences in Modern China," *History of Science,* 53, 1 (2015): 4-8. This special issue contains Howard Chiang's investigation of psychiatry, Hsiao-pei Yen's examination of ancient human fossils, Zhipeng Gao's study of scientific transformations across physiology, medicine, and psychology in the Maoist period; Yubin Sheng's exploration of the historical origins of *zaolian* (early love); and John Feng's probing of the science–politics nexus by focusing on the rise of a discipline in the scientific study of the state in early Republican China.

[27] Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China* (London: Hurst, 1992); Frank Dikötter, ed., *The Construction of Racial Identities in China and Japan: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (London: Hurst & Company, London, 1997).

[28] Sigrid Schmalzer, *The People's Peking Man: Popular Science and Human Identity in Twentieth-century China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

Wenjiang, and the Discovery of China's Prehistory, by Fiskesjö Magnus and Chen Xingcan, has examined the subtle correlation between archeology and the formation of race in modern China.[29] Thomas Mullaney's fascinating works have also cast new light on the science of ethnic classification in modern China.[30]

Taking some cutting-edge approaches, this chapter explores the history of body and human science in China. Few have so far considered the history of the human science of the body of China's ethnic minorities. Filling this gap, this chapter adds new dimensions to our understanding of the body and human variation in Chinese history. Probing the bio-politics of European imported science and methodology of anthropology, it interrogates the conceptions of how racial difference was manifested and the localisation of European theories of racial differences in Republican China.

Situating this in the context of the mutual constitution of body and clothes, and Chinese rites, social regulation and imperial regimes, this chapter explores how physiognomy and clothing in Miao albums contributed to the construction of imperial order. In doing so, it firstly probes the metaphors of representing the bodies of the peoples in the borderland from the perspectives of physical traits, like skin colour, eyes, nose and feet, in both images and texts from late imperial China. Observing that Miao albums only represent casual clothes, it explores the absence of festival fineries by linking such depictions to clothing regulations in late imperial China. When turning to Republican China, it discusses the new characteristics in representing the non-Han body influenced by anthropometric photography. It also argues that the trope of splendid finery representing the non-Han is actually a modern construction influenced by Western social Darwinism, anthropology and museology. The whole chapter is dedicated to the expression of racial differences and the order of human variation in Chinese thinking.

Delineating a typical non-Han face in the southwest: black skin, deep eyes, white teeth and hooked nose

When reading *Shanhai Jing* (*The Classic of Mountains and Seas*), one is often impressed by its beast-like human beings or human-like beasts, for example, the black people 黑人 in

[29] Chen Xingcan and Magnus Fiskesjö, *China Before China: Johan Gunnar Andersson, Ding Wenjiang, and the Discovery of China's Prehistory* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities monographs no. 15, 2004).
[30] Thomas Mullaney, *Coming to Terms with the Nation: Ethnic Classification in Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

the *Hainei Jing* 海內經 (The Classic of the Internal Sea) section who have tiger bodies and bird feet, and the Miaomin 苗民 in *Dahuang Beijing* 大荒北經 (Classic of the North of Great Desolation) whose people have wings.[31] Although the Miao album avoided these animal metaphors, it still tries to conceptualise and visualise the distinctiveness of non-Han bodies in the southwest in other ways. Echoing the aforementioned Tang narratives of the Non-Han body, the fragrant body of Emperor Qianlong's concubine, and indigenous bodies in Taiwan, this section argues that Miao albums portrayed the southwestern non-Han body with a different physiognomy, featuring skin colour, hair, eyes, noses, teeth and mouths.

Among all the physical traits, skin colour seems to be one of the most frequently described characteristics. For example, in *Dianlüe* 滇略 (*A Brief Account of Dian*) by Xie Zhaozhe, the Hala 哈剌 people were described as follows: "the skin colours for both women and men are as black as lacquer 男女色如漆黑"; on the Gula 古剌 we also read "the skin colours of both men and women are extremely black 男女色黑尤甚".[32] In *Nanzhao Yeshi* 南詔野史 (*An Unofficial History of Yunnan*), a Ming-dynasty work, the description of the Hala 哈喇 stated that "both men and women are black 男女色黑," and on the Heipu 黑鋪 that "their face and body are as dark as the color of dawn 形容黎黑."[33]

Blackness was also visualised in the Miao album images. Taking the image of Muji Tusuo 拇雞圖說 (Image and text for Muji) (Figure 3. 3) in *Diannan Zhongren Quantu* 滇南種人全圖 (The Complete Images of Ethnic Groups in Southern Yunnan) in the collection of the Library of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, as an example, all of the figures in the image, including women, men and children were painted in black.

[31] Ma, *Guben Shanhai Jing Tushuo*, 619; 625.
[32] Xie Zhaozhe 謝肇淛, *Dianlüe* 滇略 (*Brief Account of Yunnan*), in *Yunnan Shiliao Congkan*, vol 6, 778.
[33] Yang Shen 楊慎, *Nanzhao Yeshi* 南詔野史 (*An Unofficial History of Yunnan*) (Taipei: Chengwen Chubanshe, 1968), 58, 60.

Figure 3. 3, Anoymous, “Muji Tushuo 拇雞圖說,” in *Diannan Zhongren Quantu* 滇南種人全圖, undated, Library of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing.

In his study of the construction of race in modern China, Frank Dikötter briefly

mentioned the hierarchy of races in imperial China and the symbolism of skin colour; for instance, black was employed to represent the most remote part of the geographically known world, and African slaves were regarded as black as coal.[34] Texts on southwest non-Han subjects used new vocabulary to represent people with black skin, such as *Qihei* (as black as lacquer) and *Lihei* (as dark as the dawn). These metaphors of blackness indicate the inferior status of many ethnic minorities in the imagined world order of late imperial China.

Secondly, distinctive eyes and noses are other physical parts with which the Han Chinese were highly concerned. For example, in Figure 3. 4, an image of Black Luoluo in the Wellcome Trust collection, a group of men are hunting in the mountains. The commentary in the album reports:

> Within the Luoluo there are two sorts: the black and the white. The black all have deep eyes, long bodies and black faces, but their teeth are white and noses hooked.
> 羅羅，有黑白二種，黑者其人皆深目長身黑面而齒白鉤鼻.

In the image, we can clearly see the hooked nose of the Black Luoluo, in particular the one on the red horse. The side view of his face appears designed to highlight his nose. In *Zhuyi Kao* 諸夷考 (*Research on All Barbarians*), You Pu 遊樸 wrote a description of the Maren 馬人 as "having deep eyes and a pig's snout 深目, 豭喙."[35] Additionally, eye colour was a concern, with, for example, the Di Yanggui 地羊鬼 in *Dianlüe* described as having short hair and yellow eyes 短髮黃睛, and the Yeren 野人 as having "red hair and yellow eyes 赤發黃睛."[36] Thus the ethnic minorities in the southwest were represented through a distinct physiognomy, among which dark skin, deep eyes and hooked and high noses comprised the main physical traits. These non-Han facial traits differed enormously from what was seen as a fortunate and superior Han Chinese physiognomy.[37] Non-Han bodies were thus understood culturally and the non-Han subject was assumed to have certain types of physiognomy through which racial differences and hierarchy were conveyed.

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[34] Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race*, 12-16.
[35] You Pu 遊樸, *Zhuyi Kao* 諸夷考 (*Research on All Barbarians*), vol 2, (Zhonguo Jiben Gujiku), 22.
[36] Xie, *Dianlüe*, 779.
[37] Richard Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits, 1600-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Figure 3. 4, Anonymous, "Hei Luoluo 黑羅羅," in an untitled album (of 28 entries), undated, Wellcome Trust collection, London.

Highlighting *Xianzu* 跣足 (bare feet)

Analysing the representation of the southwestern non-Han body, feet are an important aspect that should not be omitted, since textual references to bare feet and subjects not wearing shoes are pervasive: the word *Xianzu* 跣足 (bare feet) appears frequently among late imperial ethnographic sources. Meanwhile, it is even more noticeable that pairs of big bare feet are vividly depicted in Miao album representations of a number of ethnic minority groups. This section thus brings the representation of feet to the fore, trying to decipher the visual code of a pair of ethnographic feet and to examine how power

relations were constructed and conveyed through feet.

In the centre of an album leaf depicting the Bai Luoluo, in *Yiren Tushuo Mulu* (Figure 3. 5), a man and a woman holding firewood on their backs stand on a wooden bridge across a stream. Both of them wear distinctive garments: a decorative goatskin bag hangs from the woman's waist and a cloak, also made of goatskin, is worn on the man's shoulders. Neither of them is wearing shoes.[38] The inscription on the top left of the image claims that "the characteristics of the Bai Luoluo are purity and frankness. They wear scarves over their hair and are bare-footed and clad with goatskins as raincoats." Being bare-footed was doubly stressed through both image and text in Miao albums.

Figure. 3. 5, Li Gu 李沽, "*Bai Luoluo* 白羅羅," in an album of *Yiren Tushuo Mulu* (of 108 album leaves), 1818, Library of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing.

[38] The bare-footedness of non-Han subjects is also visible in the *Imperial Tributary Illustrations* 皇清職貢圖. The *Illustrations of Imperial Tributary* (Approximately, 1773-1784), compiled in *Siku Quanshu* 四庫全書 (*Complete Collection of the Four Libraries*) was commissioned by the Qing court. Thus no matter whether the illustrations were sponsored by local governmental officials or the imperial court, the bare feet of ethnic minority people were widely represented in the 18th century. Yong Rong 永瑢, ed., *Huangqing Zhigongtu* 皇清職貢圖 (*Imperial Tributary Illustrations*) (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1972).

In an image of the Tu Gelao 土犵狫 (Figure 3. 6), a man lifts up his leg and one can clearly see the sole of his foot. The paired text relates that they applied a unique oil to the bottom of the foot so that they could walk without shoes. There is also a 'bamboo branch' poem:

For a long time, Gelao lived a very bitter and tough life,
Those in Weining were even more miserable. Like servants.
They wear straw raincoats and apply oil to the soles of their feet,
As fast as a moving shuttle, they wander around the mountains and the plains.
犵狫由來疾苦多, 威寧此輩更蹉跎. 傭工蓑衣油搽足, 日竄山原快似梭.

Figure 3. 6, Anoymous, "Tu Gelao 土仡佬," in an album *Qianmiao Tushuo* 黔苗圖說 (of 57 entries), undated, Harvard-Yenching Rare Book Collections, Cambridge, MA.

The poem tells of the Gelao's low status and their custom of applying oil to the soles of their feet. The last sentence of the poem, describing the Gelao walking fast without shoes, springs from the poet's imagination. Among Han Chinese, whether a subject wears shoes was another indicator of their social status. For example, in the 1530 pictures by Zhen Cheng illustrating silk-reeling in Wan Zhen's *Nongshu*, beggars are depicted with their feet exposed.[39] Wearing proper garments was core to the idea of rites, as the following text quoted from the *Liji* suggests:

> Rites are essential to make humans human; ritual starts with proper clothes, colours and speech, which in turn lead to the complement of rites 凡人之所以為人者, 禮義也. 禮義之始, 在於正容體, 齊顏色, 順辭令. 容體正, 顏色齊, 辭令順, 而後禮義備.[40]

Thus proper wear was regarded as the most essential and basic element of the rites which make humans human; those non-Han subjects without shoes were not regarded as being properly dressed, and therefore not fitting into the clothing regulation and order of the ritually defined society. Highlighting their exposed bare feet or their habits of not wearing shoes was thus designed to represent the impoverishment of non-Han society.

Another layer of meanings in spotlighting bare feet was inseparable from the practice of footbinding among Han Chinese in the imperial period. Women's exposed feet are highlighted in the Miao albums. For example, in the image of the Duanqun Miao (Figure 3. 7) an album at the British Library depicts one Miao man and three Miao women wearing short skirts. The woman seated on a rock in the foreground raises her leg to wash. The stream is clear and her feet are clearly visible. Another woman, standing behind and holding a basket on her back, is also not wearing shoes.

[39] Bray, *Technology, Gender and History in Imperial China,* 219-252.
[40] Dai, *Li Ji*, 437.

Figure. 3. 7, anonymous, "Duanqun Miao 短裙苗," in album of *Nongsang Yahua* 農桑雅化 (of 40 leaves in two volumes), undated, British Library, London. (Series 16595).

The practice of footbinding among young girls was popularised after the Tang dynasty.[41] It persisted for several centuries, until, in the second half of the nineteenth century, bound feet came to be regarded as emblems of the backwardness of China and a symbol of female oppression; the "heavenly foot" movement was advocated instead. The first anti-footbinding society was established in Amoy in 1874, led by European missionaries, and was later recognized by Chinese intellectuals. Binding feet, which was regarded as a reflection of the depressed status of women in a patriarchal society, was often discussed in connection with China's reputation, fate and modernization.[42]

The problematic historiography interpreting footbinding was shaped in the nineteenth century and has been challenged by several scholars.[43] Works by Dorothy Ko have made the greatest contribution to a proper understanding of the practice in Imperial China.[44] One of Ko's core arguments is that not every woman bound her feet, but it was rather a privilege for girls from well-off families. The practice of footbinding was thus also a metaphor for social hierarchy. In their collective article, Melissa Brown and others have gathered empirical evidence collected from a large sample of 7,314 rural women living in Sichuan, Northern, Central, and Southwestern China who lived during the early twentieth century, offering us insights into the meanings of footbinding for women in rural areas, revealing that gender difference was actually erased among the destitute.[45]

In an ethnographic context, Dorothy Ko and Susan Mann suggest that footbinding was strongly associated with the superiority of Han Chinese civilisation. [46] Those others who did not practice footbinding were regarded as barbarian, and the ethnic others who also

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[41] For the discussions on the origins of footbinding, see Dorothy Ko's Chapter of in *Cinderella's Sister: A Revisionist History of Footbinding* (London: University of California Press, 2005), 109-44.

[42] For the history of footbinding and the anti-footbinding movement, see: Brent Whitefield, "The Tian Zu Hui (Natural Foot Society): Christian Women in China and the Fight against Footbinding," *Southeast Review of Asian Studies*, 30 (2008): 203-212 (206); Fan Hong, *Footbinding, Feminism, and Freedom: The Liberation of Women's Bodies in Modern China* (London: Frank Cass, 1997).

[43] In terms of changing European perceptions of footbinding, see Patricia Ebrey, "Gender and Sinology: Shifting Western Interpretations of Footbinding, 1300-1890," *Late Imperial China*, 20 (1999): 1-34.

[44] Dorothy Ko, "Perspectives on Foot-binding", *Asian Network Exchange,* 15 (2008): 11-13.

[45] Melissa Brown, Laurel Bossen, Hill Gates and Damian Satterthwaite-Phillips, "Marriage Mobility and Footbinding in Pre-1949 Rural China: A Reconsideration of Gender, Economics, and Meaning in Social Causation," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 71, 4 (2012): 1035-1067.

[46] Dorothy Ko, "The Body as Attire: The Shifting Meanings of Footbinding in Seventeenth-Century China," *Journal of Women's History*, 8 (1997): 8-27 (10-14); Mann, *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Chinese History*, 169-80.

practiced footbinding were seen as superior to those who did not.[47] The Qing dynasty was ruled by the Manchus, an ethnic group from Northern China, and Manchu women were forbidden to bind their feet. Footbinding, therefore, was also a marker of ethnic boundaries separating Manchu from Han.[48]

There are cross-cutting concerns here with gender norms, and with status and occupation. The representation of feet are not simply about the Han wearing shoes and hiding their feet, while the ethnic minorities did not wear shoes and did not perform foot binding. Rather, it also reflects the construction of Han-on-Han class-status attributes revolving around labour and the values of gendered work. The representation of feet in Chinese culture indeed demonstrates the complexity of overlapping gender, ethnicity and social-status markers. The only aristocracy depicted in the Miao albums, who belonged to the Black Luoluo, were shown wearing shoes. Moreover, in those images of *Nüguan* discussed in the first chapter, almost all the figures in the yard wore shoes. The specific attention to feet in China's imperial images seems to be a unique characteristic that the European imperial experiences did not share.

The hierarchy of dressing: the representation of the non-Han subject in simple and casual clothes

After scrutinising various copies of Miao albums and relevant textual records of non-Han costume, I have come to realise that in several albums they merely wear rather simple clothes, contradicting the modern media stereotype of the splendid and colourful clothing of non-Han groups. Although some albums concentrate more on the details of non-Han clothing than do others, generally only casual clothes were represented in late imperial images. Whilst this was a Republican categorisation of non-Han clothes, it is still very relevant and useful to understand the representation of clothes in the Ming and Qing eras. In his *Miaobao Yinghui* 苗胞影繪 (photographic album of Miao), Wu Zelin 吳澤霖 (1898-1990) divides Miao clothing into two main categories: *Bianzhuang* 便裝 (casual clothing) and *Lizhuang* 麗裝 (beautiful clothes). One is for daily wear and the other for festivals and ceremonies. For example, the *Lizhuang* of two Black Miao girls (Figure 3. 8), shows huge differences from the *Bianzhuang* of another two Miao girls (Figure 3. 9), especially in the silver coiffures and neck decorations. However, the casual clothing of the two Miao girls

[47] Ko, "*The Body as Attire,*" 10-14.
[48] Ibid, 15-16.

in Wu's photograph resembles the clothes worn by the Black Miao women in *Manliao Tushuo* 蠻獠圖說 at the Bodleian library (Figure 3. 10): in both images, they wear long pleated skirts and long blouses with waist belts; their hair is tied up above the forehead without the ornate silver coiffures. Thus in Miao albums of the late imperial period, merely casual clothes were selected to represent the non-Han subject.

Figure 3. 8, Wu Zelin 吳澤霖, Photograph of "Changqun Heimiao Lizhuang Zhiyi 長裙黑苗麗裝之一," in *Miaobao Yinghui* 苗胞影繪 (Guiyang: Daxia Daxue, 1940), 3.

Figure 3. 9, Wu Zelin, Photograph of "Pingba qingmiao Bianzhuang 平壩青苗便裝," in *Miaobao Yinghui,* 19

Figure 3. 10, Gao Luolian 高羅濂, "Bazhai Heimiao 八寨黑苗," in an album of *Manliao Tushuo* 蠻獠圖說 (of 82 entries), Bodleian Library, Oxford University.

In some Miao albums from Yunnan, such as *Yiren Tushuo Mulu*,[49] the clothes of several different ethnic groups were overly simplified, making no distinction from the clothes of peasants in *Gengzhi Tu*, who wear blouses and shorts. This chapter argues that the visual representation of non-Han subjects in festival clothes was a very modern phenomenon constituted in Republican China under the influence of Western social Darwinism and the rise of museums, something we discuss in detail in the subsequent section. Contextualised within the hierarchy of clothing regulations in late imperial China, this part tries to explore why non-Han festival clothes were omitted from Miao albums.

Several works on the history of Chinese costume have discussed the hierarchy of dress among different ranks and social classes. For example, in the introduction, we mentioned Yuan's studies on clothing regulation and order in the Ming dynasty.[50] Zhao Lianshang has also examined the hierarchy of clothing among Ming government officials.[51] More generally, in *Zhongguo Fushi Shi* 中國服飾史 (*History of Chinese Clothing*), Huang Nengfu and Chen Juanjuan have illuminated the variance of materials, patterns, ornaments and various components of clothing among different social classes over different historical epochs.[52]

Textual sources recording clothing regulations in pre-modern China are actually quite rich, and they often appear in the sections, such as *Chefu Zhi* 車服制 or *Yufu Zhi* 輿服制 (Rules for Vehicles and Costumes), of the standard histories or local gazetteers. These provide detailed rules on the costumes, colours, material and ornaments permissible according to the rank of government officials and social classes.[53] The regulation of costume is also a concern in Confucian classics. In *Liji* 禮記 (*The Book of Rites*), for example, the chapters on *Guanyi* 冠儀 and *Yuzao* 玉藻, have specific requirements in what to wear on various occasions and among different classes.[54] It seems that, in the case of the ethnic minorities on the frontier, the wearing of jewellery and beautiful clothes for festivals and weddings among ordinary Miao women violated imperial Chinese clothing

[49] The whole album is reprinted in Chuai ed., *Diansheng Yiren Tushuo, Diansheng Yudi Tushuo*.
[50] Yuan, "Dressing for Power", 181–212.
[51] Zhao Lianshang 趙連賞, *Fushi Shihua* 服飾史話 (*The History of Clothes*) (Beijing: Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe, 2011).
[52] Huang Nengfu 黃能馥, and Chen Juanjuan 陳娟娟, *Zhongguo Fushi Shi* 中國服飾史 (*History of Chinese Clothing*) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Publishing, 2014), 51-52.
[53] Shen, *Zhongguo Fushi Shi*, 20; Huang and Chen, *Zhongguo Fushi Shi*, 51-2.
[54] Dai, *Liji,* 138-148; 271.

regulations. Thus they were only "allowed" casual clothes in Miao albums, another wonderful illustration of the "art" of representation, and the "mental image" of Han Chinese imperial conceptions.

Although here we have highlighted the power generated from clothing regulations in the representation of the non-Han subject, this should not downplay the role of clothes in materialising non-Han identity. Even when restricted to casual clothes, the goatskin cape, women's pleated skirts, the short skirt and off-shoulder blouse all symbolise ethnicities. Several Miao groups were very good at making textiles in unique patterns, for example, in Figure 3. 11, a woman of the Hongzhou Miao is weaving, sitting in front of her loom, on which we see multiple colours. Women standing outside the house are holding some finished textile pieces, and an old woman with a walking stick seems to be appreciating them. All the women in the image wear colourful pleated skirts.

Figure 3. 11, Anonymous, "Hongzhou Miao 洪州苗," in an album of *Qianmiao Tushuo* 黔苗圖說, undated, Harvard-Yenching Rare Book Collections, Cambridge, MA.

The Guling Miao 谷蘭苗 are another ethnic group celebrated for their skill at making textiles, as the text in *Manliao Tushuo* 蠻獠圖說 in the Bodleian Library collection puts it:

> Women are good at weaving. Their clothes are of excellent quality. Once brought to the market, people would compete to buy it. It is said that if you want to make shirt and trousers, one has to get the garment made by the Guling Miao 女工紡織, 其布精良密, 每入市爭購之, 相傳欲作汗衫褲須得穀蘭布.

Dianhai Yuhengzhi also records various unique and exquisite textiles made by the ethnic minorities in Yunnan.[55] The colourful patterned textiles and pleated skirts in Miao albums thus also symbolise non-Han ethnic identities.

Meanwhile, we need to recognise the diversity of representation. Not every album was made by direct observation in the field. In chapter four, I argue that the practice of copying was prevalent in the production of Miao albums, which, made for sale and for consumption for pleasure in large cities, were produced by artists without direct contact with the mountains of the southwest. Thus, rather than "copying from life," many albums just use common iconographic models to signal particular kinds of scene. This is one of the reasons for the simplification of non-Han clothing in some Miao albums; this variety might relate to the nature of the images produced.

Like Ge's illumination of the happiness, envy, sadness, derision and nostalgia brought forth by clothing among the diplomats of neighbouring countries,[56] clothes indeed matter in the Miao albums' representation of non-Han subjects. The representations of clothes in Miao albums are reflections of the clothing regulations of Chinese social and cultural order and rites. Their emphasis on *Yiguan* 衣冠 ('clothes and hat') in imperial edicts and other ethnography does not, in fact, include all non-Han clothing in the practice of representation. Representation is indeed a matter of selection.

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[55] Tan Cui 檀萃, "*Dianhai Yuhengzhi* 滇海虞衡志," in *Yunnan Shiliao Congkan*, vol 11, 139.
[56] Ge, "Daming Yiguan Jin Hezai," 41-48; Ge, "Costume, Ceremonial, and the East Asian Order," 136-51.

Republican Anthropometric photography: new styles and the ambiguity of racial differences

In the Republican era, body and clothing continued to serve, as they had in late imperial China, as key tools in representing the non-Han subject, but this took new forms. Influenced by photography and anthropometry in Europe and America, new styles of representing the non-Han body emerged in multiple mediums, including photographs, illustrations and paintings by both anthropologists and amateurs writing for the commercial popular press. This section thus sheds light on how representational models of the non-Han body were transformed; how western anthropometry and photography served to reconfigure the bodily differences between Han Chinese and ethnic minorities; how splendid costumes were popularised; and how the non-Han were feminised.

Firstly, alongside the frontal views of non-Han bodies, back and side views were provided by modern photography, such as the three-sided views of the same two Miao girls in Guiyang (Figure 3. 12 , Figure 3. 13 and Figure 3. 14), in the Academia Sinica photography collection. They were photographed by Rui Yifu 芮逸夫 (1898-1991) in 1940, and posed front, side and back views of the same two people were represented in three different photographs.

Figure 3. 12, Rui Yifu 芮逸夫,"Huamiao er Shaonü 花苗二少女," photograph, 1940, Academia Sinica, Taipei.

Figure 3. 13, Rui, side views of “Huamiao er Shaonü,” 1940.

Figure 3. 14, Rui, back views of “Huamiao er Shaonü,” 1940.

There are also examples where front, side and back views of three different people are shown in the same photograph. For example, in the image of the Dahuamiao in Dading (Figure 3. 15) from *Miaobao Yinghui*, five women stand in a line, three of them facing the viewer and two with their backs turned.

Figure 3. 15, Wu Zelin 吳澤霖, Photograph of "Dading Dahua Miao 大定大花苗," in *Miaobao Yinghui*, 16.

Moreover, among the paintings depicting the ethnic minorities in Guizhou by Pang Xunqin 龐熏琹 (1906-1985) in the 1930s and 1940s, several also show Miao subjects from multiple sides. Pang studied in Paris in the 1920s and was keen to promote modernist painting in 1930s Shanghai. In his later years, he became fascinated with decorative art and devoted much of his time to researching the history of decorative paintings.[57] In 1939, the Central Museum commissioned him to travel among the Miao and other tribes in order to study and collect their customs, textiles and decorative arts. Pang thus produced a series of paintings and drawings of the Miao people, which were

[57] Michael Sullivan, *Modern Chinese Artists: a Biographical Dictionary* (London: University of California Press, 2006), 122.

exhibited in several cities in the 1930s and 1940s.[58] In Figure 3. 16, a painting of a group of Miao women and men, in the centre of the image one can see the back of a Miao girl; at the back, a man turns his face aside. Thus such anthropometric-style images were not limited to photography, but also influenced artists' work.[59] Furthermore, such examples showing multiple sides of Miao subjects can also be found in new-style Miao albums. For example, the image of Daya Gelao, placed at the very beginning of this chapter, depicts the back of a Miao woman. The development of this new genre of Miao album is discussed further in the fourth chapter, when we consider the reproduction of Miao albums in Republican China.

Figure 3. 16, Pang Xunqin 龐熏琹, *Shengwu* 笙舞, watercolour, 52 x 39 cm, 1941, Pang Xunqin Meishuguan, Changshu, Jiangsu.

[58] Michael Sullivan, *Chinese Art in the Twentieth Century* (London: Faber, 1959), 54.
[59] Yuan Yunyi 袁韻宜, *Pang Xunqin Yishu Yanjiu* 龐薰琴藝術研究 (*Research on the Art of Pang Xunqin*) (Beijing: Beijing Gongyi Meishu Chubanshe, 1991); *Pang Xunqin Zhuan* 龐薰琹傳 (*Autobiography of Pang Xunqin*) (Beijing: Beijing Gongyi Meishu Chubanshe, 1995).

Another characteristic of the body represented in photographs of ethnic minorities was showing an individual figure in full-length or half-length portrayals. See, for example, Figure 3. 17, photographs from the online catalogue of photography of ethnic minorities in the southwest of China in the collection of Academia Sinica, taken when measuring the bodies of ethnic minority subjects. In such half-length photographs, generally there is only one individual person in each shot; front and side views were also selected and juxtaposed.

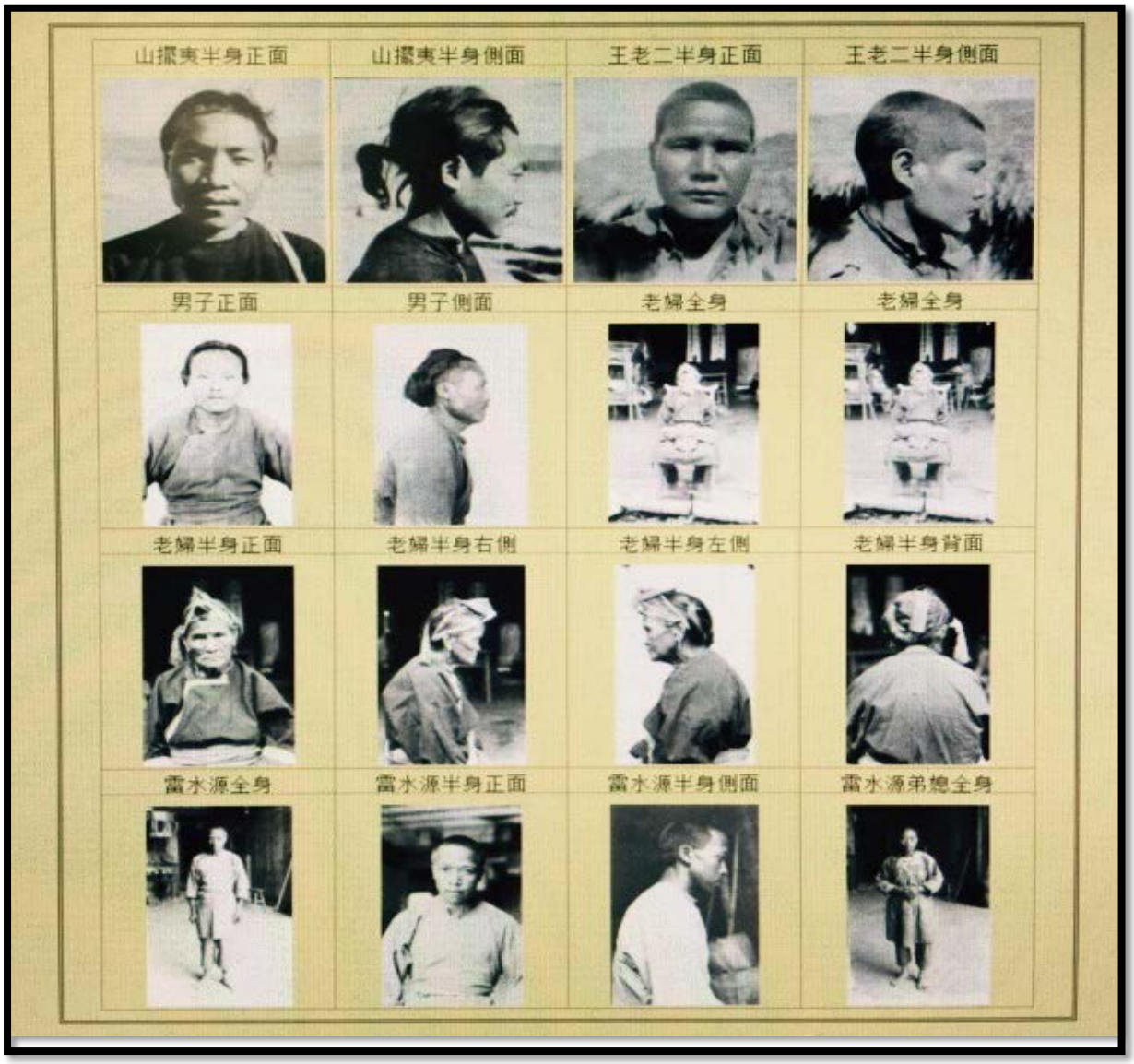

Figure 3. 17, *Photography of Body Measuments*, available at: http://ndweb.iis.sinica.edu.tw/race_public/System/frame_1.htm [17, April, 2017]

Similarly, in Figure 3. 18, a half-length painting of a Miao woman by Pang Xunqin, the figure turns her face slightly towards the right side and her body occupies the majority of the painting. Only the upper part of the body is depicted, a new characteristic when compared to the full-length figures in the Miao albums.

Figure 3. 18, Pang Xunqin , *Miaonü Jianfa Shangshen Tu* 苗女剪髮上身圖, watercolour, 20 x 16 cm, 1945, Pang Xunqin Meishuguan, Changshu, Jiangsu.

The half-length illustration is to be found in *Gudian Turen tuzhi* 古滇土人圖志 (Illustration of the Primitive in Ancient Yunnan), an ethnographic album compiled by Dong Guanzhi 董貫之 (1881–1931), a local artist in Yunnan. Born into a poor family in Yunnan, Dong married the daughter of his painting teacher, who supported him financially to go to Zhejiang to study painting. After spending several years on a study trip

in Hangzhou, Dong returned to Kunming and established his own studio. Dong painted *Gudian Turen Tuzhi* and an exhibition of the album was held in Kunming.[60] Dong's album was comprised of two volumes. The first volume is similar to the Miao albums in that an image containing landscape and figures is placed on the left, with textual annotation to the right. The second volume only has images, each containing one figure (Figure 3. 19) portrayed half-length, which suggest that the influence of anthropometric style photography even reached local artists in their creative work.

Figure 3. 19, Dong Yidao 董一道, "Qiuren," and "Shuibai Yi," in *Gudian Turen Tuzhi* 古滇土人圖志 (*Illustrated Record of Indigenous People in Ancient Yunnan*)(Chongwenshi Yinshuguan, 1914).

Such anthropometric-style ethnographic images were not confined to the photography of anthropologists, instead appearing in commercial photography in popular newspapers and periodicals, such as *Liangyou* 良友 (*Good Friends*), *Tuhua Shibao* 圖畫時報 (*Illustrated Newspaper*), *Zhonghua* 中華 (*China*) and *Dongfang Huakan* 東方畫刊 (*East Pictorial Periodical*), which printed the photographs we discuss in the following

[60] Dong, *Gudian Turen Tuzhi*, 1-7.

sections. Some of Pang Xunqin's paintings of Miao girls were also published in periodicals.[61] In order to understand how these new styles were formed, we need to examine the history of nineteenth-century anthropology in Europe and America, and their trajectory on introduction to China.

Conceptualising and visualising an ethnographic body: the implications in China

Anatomy affected the observational practice of anthropology, and photography serves as an efficient tool for visualising the body for anthropologists' morphological observations. In his monograph *The Making of British Anthropology, 1813-1871,* Efram Sera-Shriar discussed the development of observational practice of nineteenth century anthropology by focusing on two important eminent anthropologists, James Hunt and Thomas Huxley. Drawing on their medical background as anatomists and physiologists, they insisted that anthropology should consider anatomical and physiological evidence.[62] The intimate correlations between photography and anthropology are best exemplified in Thomas Huxley's carefully considered plan. Huxley encouraged travellers to assist the science of man by collecting ethnographic data, but he was unsatisfied with the existing collected information. Thus Huxley aimed to systematise the collecting practices of informants living abroad by formulating a set of instructions on how to photograph indigenous people for ethnographic research. According to Huxley's set of instructions, colonial informants were to photograph their models standing unclothed, facing toward and in profile, without their hands obstructing their bodies in any manner.[63]

Books pertaining to anthropometry, anthropology and travel guides from the nineteenth century generally provide great detail on which parts of the body should be measured, how to measure them and what equipment might be used. For example, in *Anthropometry*, Aleš Hrdlička provided instructions on how to measure nineteen parts of the body, including height, breadth of the nose, breadth of the mouth, height of the face

[61] Pang Xunqin 龐薰琹, "Pang Xunqin hua Miaozu Renwu: Tuhua Sanfu 龐薰琹畫苗族人物:畫圖三幅 (Miao People Depicted by Pang Xunqin: Three Paintings)," *Qingmin*g 清明(上海), 4 (1946): 11.
[62] Efram Sera-Shriar, *The Making of British Anthropology, 1813-1871* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), 109-116.
[63] Ibid, 142-3. For more detail on the instructions for doing anthropometric photography, see also Hyde Clarke, "Ethnological Notes and Queries," *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London,* 1 (1869): 84-8.

and head.[64] Figure 3. 20 shows how to measure the breadth of the brain with calipers and Figure 3. 21 and Figure 3. 22 how to measure the prominence of the nose at its base and the external bipalpebral breadth (breadth of the eyelids) and the length of the ear. Additionally, a number of tables were designed to carefully record the measured statistics. At the end of the book, he also listed the formulae for a number of indices, such as his Nasal Index, Ear Index, Chest Index and Facial Index.[65] Aleš Hrdlička also listed the essential tools for measuring the body, such as paper or cloth planes or tape, the 'anthropometer', a horizontal plane, a wooden bench for measuring height when sitting, plumb and level, spreading calipers, sliding compass, large sliding compass, tapes, standard meter, standard block, dynamometer, weighing scale, and standards for colours of skin, eyes and hair.[66]

Figure 3. 20, Aleš Hrdlička, "Photograph of head measurements," in *Anthropometry*, 69.

[64] Aleš Hrdlička, *Anthropometry* (Philadelphia: The Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology, 1920).
[65] Ibid, 151.
[66] Ibid, 56-60.

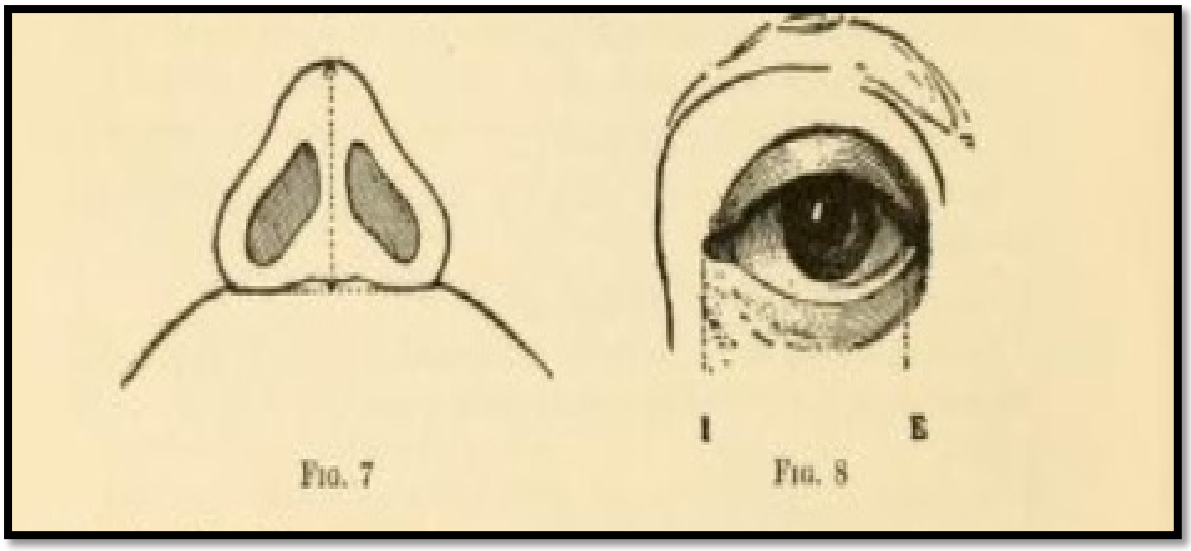

Figure 3. 21, Aleš Hrdlička, "Illustration of nose and eye measurements," in *Anthropometry,* 23.

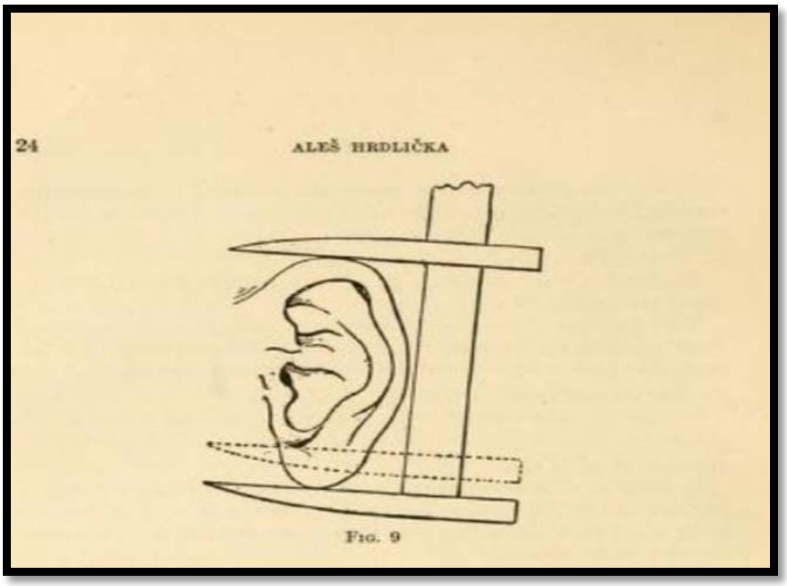

Figure 3. 22, Aleš Hrdlička, "Illustration of nose and eye measurements," in *Anthropometry*, 24.

Apart from measuring, observation of morphology was another methodology essential to the study of bodies. In *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, tables with great detail of how to describe the physical traits of various parts of the body were listed.

Taking the face, for example, we are asked, "is the face, in a front view, square, long, round, elliptic, short-oval, long-oval, shield-shaped (like an escutcheon), or wedge-shaped."[67]

In addition to European influences, some Japanese anthropologists also affected Republican-era Chinese anthropology, their works being translated into Chinese, such as the Japanese anthropologist Torii Ryuzo's *Miaozu Diaocha Baogao* 苗族調查報告 (*Research report on the Miao*). This work best exemplifies the intimate correlation between photography and morphological observation.[68] Figure 3. 23 shows drawings by Ryuzo of the different characteristics of Miao faces from the side. At the end of the research report, Ryuzo provided a number of photographs of Miao subjects. For the same ethnic group, Ryuzo placed two images, one full-length, the other half length. Torii Ryuzo clearly pointed out that half-length photography is for the purpose of scrutinising the bodies of ethnic minority subjects, enabling the viewer to observe their bodily characteristics clearly and in great detail.[69]

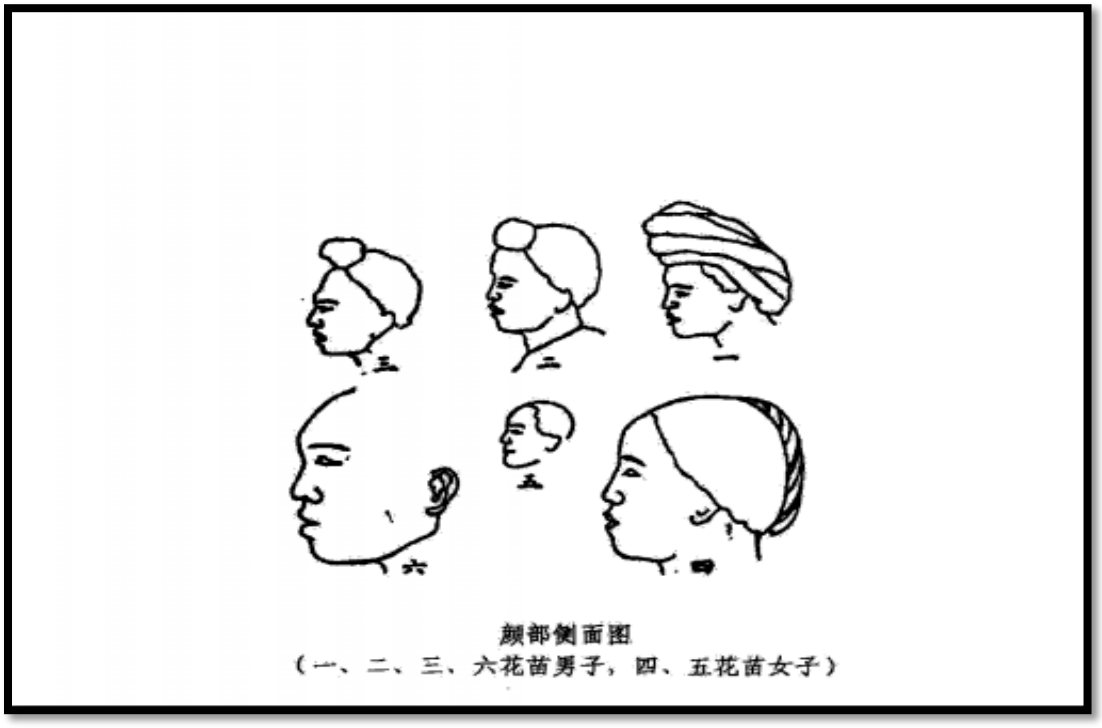

Figure 3. 23, Torii Ryuzo, "Drawings of the side faces of Miao women and men," in *Miaozu Diaocha Baogao,* 44.

[67] Charles Read and John Garson, eds., *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (London: Anthropological Institute, 1892), 17-9.
[68] Niaoju Longcang 鳥居龍藏 (Torii Ryuzo), *Miaozu Diaocha Baogao* 苗族調查報告 (*Research Report on the Miao*) (Guiyang: Guizhou Daxue Chubanshe, 2009).
[69] Ibid, 271-319.

In English-language scholarship, the implications of anthropometry in twentieth century China have only barely been explored. In a presidential speech to the annual conference of the American Association for Chinese Studies, Charles Keyes claimed that, although ideas of racial classification by bodily measurement were formulated among several European anthropologists, such scientific means of racial classification "have never been considered in any of the states of Asia, with perhaps the exception of Japan, as the basis for understanding the diversity among peoples under their jurisdiction, even though racial thinking has been manifest to some degree in popular thought in several, perhaps all, Asian countries."[70] As we have seen, projects of bodily measurement were conducted in China. Anthropometry was introduced to China, promoted in particular by those who trained abroad, and relevant studies were conducted by researchers from Academia Sinica in the 1930s and 1940s, producing a number of anthropometric photographs.[71] One of the earliest scholars who pursued amateur anthropometric research in Yunnan and Guizhou was Ding Wenjiang 丁文江 (1887-1936), a graduate of the University of Glasgow.[72] As early as the 1910s, while doing research on the mineral resources of Yunnan, Ding spent his spare time in ethnographic research on Yunnan. One of Ding's travel accounts tells of his experience of measuring the bodies of non-Han subjects.[73] Ding recorded how he measured the bodies of the tribal people of Yunnan in detail:

[70] Charles Keyes, Presidential Address: "'The Peoples of Asia"? Science and Politics in the Classification of Ethnic Groups in Thailand, China, and Vietnam," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 61, 4 (2002): 1163-1203 (1166).

[71] For the history of antropometry in China, also see: Wang Jianmin 王建民, "Ershi Shiji Qianbanqi Zhongguo Tizhi Renleixue Fazhan Gaishu 二十世紀前半期中國體質人類學發展概述 (Review of the Development of Chinese Anthropometry in the First Half of Twentieth Century)," in *Zhongguo Renleixue de Fazhan* 中國人類學的發展, eds., Chen Guoqiang 陳國強, and Lin Jiahuang 林加煌 (Shanghai: Shanghai Sanlian Shudian, 1996), 142-150; Wang Jianmin 王建民, *Zhongguo Minzuxue Shi* 中國民族學史, 1903-1949 (T*he History of Ethnology in China from 1903 to 1949*) (Kunming: Yunnan Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1997), 243-50.

[72] For research on Ding Wenjiang, see Magnus Fiskesjö, "Science across Borders: Johan Gunnar Andersson and Ding Wenjiang," in *Exploers & Scientists in China's Borderlands, 1880-1950*, eds., Denise Glover and Steven Harrell (Seattle: Washington University Press, 2011), 240-266

[73] Ding Wenjiang 丁文江,"Manyou Sanji(Shisan): Yunnan de Tuzhu Renzhong 漫遊散記(十三): 雲南的土著人種 (Accounts of Roaming (Thirteen): The Tribal of Yunnan)"*Duli Pinglun* 獨立評論, 34 (1933):13-19.

On the 13th April of 1914, I returned to Kunming. Because I needed to plan a long journey in Yibei and Yidong, I spent ten days in Kunming buying animals, and employing servants. During this period, I asked the military factory in Yunnan to make a pair of calipers for me. I did not bring any books pertaining to race with me, and I only have *Guide to Travellers* published by the Royal Anthropology Society, in which there is a small portion talking of the methodology of research on race, to which the pattern for calipers was attached. The military factory will make it for me according to this image. Besides other ordinary measuring instruments and leather rulers, these are my simple and rough tools for studying the races.

我於民國三年四月十三日回到昆明. 因為要向迤北, 迤東作長期的旅行, 在昆明購買牲口, 雇傭僕夫, 耽擱了十天. 在這期間我請雲南兵工廠給我做了一副量圓體徑的曲足規 (Calipers).當時我並沒有帶任何人種學的書籍. 只有英國皇家學會出版的《旅行者的指南》(Guide to Travellers) 上面有一小部分講研究人種的方法, 附得有傅勞額 Flower 的曲足規的圖楊. 兵工廠就是用這圖仿做的. 再加上幾件普通測量用的儀器測杆, 皮尺, 就是我研究人種粗淺的工具.[74]

The precise title of the book for travellers mentioned by Ding should actually be *Hints to Travelers*, edited by the council of the Royal Geographical Society.[75] We are not sure which edition Ding carried with him. The ninth edition, published in 1906, might be one possibility. The chapter on "Anthropological Notes" introduces cranial measurements, and we find two images showing the caliper and craniometer measuring tools (Figure 24). Therefore what Ding used for his measurement of non-Han subjects in Yunnan was probably an imitation of the caliper in *Hints to Travellers.* With the help of local government official and villager leader, Ding managed to measure sixteen male Lisu in one village and ten more in another village, calculating the height of the body, the length of the head, the width of the head, the length of legs and arms, the index of head. Ding merely recorded the statistics, but did not reach a conclusion on the origins of the Lisu.

[74] Ibid, 17.

[75] Royal Geographical Society, ed., *Hints to Travellers, Scientific and General* (London: the Royal Geographic Society, 1906), 135.

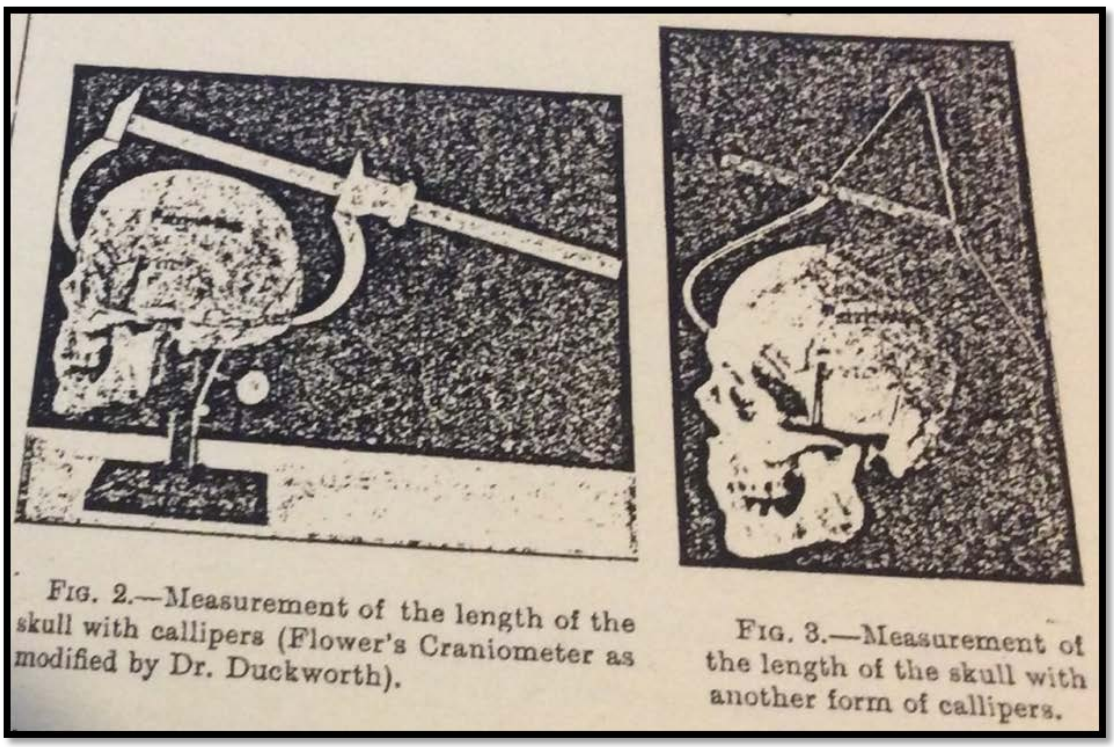

FIG. 2.—Measurement of the length of the skull with callipers (Flower's Craniometer as modified by Dr. Duckworth).

FIG. 3.—Measurement of the length of the skull with another form of callipers.

Figure. 3. 24, Royal Geographical Society, "Photographs of skull measurement," in *Hints to Travellers,* 135.

Li Ji 李濟 (1896 -1979) was another of the two important figures who introduced anthropometry to China. When Li Ji studied anthropology at Harvard University, his PhD thesis methodology was based on anthropometry. In chapter two, "The Physical Traits of the Modern Chinese," he applied anthropometrical methodology to measuring the bodies of Chinese students and labourers in America.[76] When Li returned to China from America, he was eager to measure the bodies of real Chinese, as he wrote in the first paragraph of a report on Chinese bodies in Hubei in 1924:

> When I was collecting sources for this research topic, I realised that a big problem is the scarcity of printed systemic sources pertaining to this research topic. Since then I have a big ambition: after I return to China, I will measure hundreds and thousands of bodies of people who are 100% Chinese. Soon after I returned to China from America in 1923, I met Mr. Ding Zaijun (Ding Wenjiang). After I told him of my intentions, I immediately received his great (lit. 120%) admiration. With his help,

[76] Ji Li, *The Formation of the Chinese People: an Anthropological Inquiry* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1928), 7-55.

part of my wish has come true. I am still not a formal member of the Science Society, but with the assistance of Mr. Ding Zaijun, the Science Society generously provided me some funding. My project of measuring the Chinese body has begun.
三年前我因為要分析組成現代中國民族的成分, 寫了一篇論文叫作現代中國人民之體質. 在搜集關於這個題目的材料的時候, 我發現了一件大事情, 就是關於這個題目有系統的材料已經印出來的是非常之少. 那時我就發了一個大願心: 心想回國後我必定要測驗幾千幾百個百分之百的中國人. 民國十二年, 我初從美國回來, 遇著了丁在君先生,就告訴了他這個意思, 立時就得到了他十二分的贊許; 他並且保險替我想法子使我能夠遂一部分的願心. 那時候我尚不是正式的科學社的社員, 然而因為得了丁先生得疏通, 科學社就慨然允許我經濟上相當的幫助; 我的測驗中國人民體質的工作因此就開始了.[77]

After measuring one thousand people from forty-five different places in Hubei, Li concluded that the height of Hubei people is medium; the head is round and the nose is medium in width. The Hubei people in the southeast are relatively short, while those in the northwest are taller. The eagerness of Li Ji to measure the bodies of Chinese people and the generous assistance of Ding Wenjiang all suggest the potentially significant implications of anthropometry in Republican China.

Institutions such as Academia Sinica also engaged extensively with anthropometry in China. Academia Sinica had a strong interest in researching the ethnic minorities in China, and several research projects were established from the 1920s to the 1940s. The department of anthropometry was established in 1944, directed by Wu Dingliang 吳定良 (1894-1969), who studied anthropology at Columbia University and University College London. They were equipped with the same tools for measuring the body as the European and American anthropologists. After doing research in more than sixty villages in Guizhou, the research team lead by Wu Dingliang and Wu Rukang 吳汝康 (1916-2006) collected around 2,000 samples of body measurements and more than 1,000 samples of fingerprints and blood from the ethnic minorities over a period from August to the end of 1941. They measured more bodies among the Dahua Miao, Xiaohua Miao and Yi in

[77] Li Ji 李濟, "Hubei Renzhong Celiang zhi Jieguo 湖北人種測量之結果 (Results of the Anthropometry Research in Hubei) 1924," in *Li Ji Wenji* 李濟文集, vol.5, eds., Zhang Guangzhi 張光直 (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 2006), 420-423 (420).

Guzhou in 1942, and their research topics pertain to the bodies and blood types of the Miao, Zhongjia, Luoluo Gelao and Lisu peoples.[78]

Courses on anthropometry were taught in Qinghua University, Zhejiang University and Zhongshan University. Li Ji taught anthropometry at Qinghua University and his student, Wu Jinding's monograph of *Shandong Ren Tizhi zhi Yanjiu* 山東人體質之研究 (*Research on the Bodies of Shangdong People*) was influenced by Li.[79] In Yang Chengzhi's proposed establishment of a department of anthropology at Zhongshan University, Guangzhou, anthropometry would have been a compulsory course and the methodologies of bodily measurement an optional element.[80]

Ambiguous attitudes: how should the statistics of body measurements be interpreted?

The purpose of doing anthropometric research is generally for "type" classification.[81] In the case of China, it is important to realise that, although anthropometry was implemented, and classification based on bodily measurement was considered reliable and trustworthy, few results pertaining to ethnic classification were generated from the sample measurements taken. For example, in the aforementioned proposal for research on the bodies and culture of the ethnic minorities in Guizhou, 2,000 samples were obtained, but the relevant research reports were not written. Among the various works of Wu Dingliang, only one article,·*The Physical Characters of the Pa Miao People of Kweichow and other Peoples of South China*, pertained to the ethnic minorities in Guizhou. Nevertheless, this is an article published in English, in the journal of the *Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, in 1942.[82] Simultaneously, in the

[78] Du Jing 杜靖, *Zhongguo Tizhi Renleixue Shi Yanjiu* 中國體質人類學史研究 (*Research on the History of Chinese Anthropometry*) (Beijing: Beijing Chanquan Chubanshe, 2013), 1-9; 32-48.
[79] Wu Jinding 吳金鼎, *Shandong Ren Tizhi zhi Yanjiu* 山東人體質之研究 (*Research on the Bodies of People in Shandong*) (Nanjing: Zhongyan Yuan, 1931).
[80] Yang Chengzhi 楊成志, "Guoli Zhongshan Daxue Sheli Renleixue Xi Jianyishu 國立中山大學設立人類學系建議書 (Proposal on the Establishement of Anthropology in Zhongshan University)," in *Yang Chengzhi Wenji* 楊成志文集, ed., Liu Zhaorui 劉昭瑞 (Guangzhou: Zhongshan Daxue Chunanshe, 2004), 267-68.
[81] Joseph Deniker, *The Races of Man: An Outline of Anthropology and Ethnography* (London: the Walter Scott Publishing,1900), 284-85.
[82] T. L. Woo (Dingliang Wu), "The Physical Characters of the Pa Miao People of Kweichow and Other Peoples of South China," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 72, 1/2 (1942): 45-53.

work *Xiangxi Miaozu Diaocha Baogao* 湘西苗族調查報告(*Research Report on the Miao in West Hunan*), and *Songhuajiang Xiayou de Hezhe Zu* 松花江下游的赫哲族 (*The Hezhe in the Lower Course of the Songhua River*), two monographs also from researchers of Academia Sinica, there were no sections on bodily measurement, although they did measure the bodies of ethnic minorities.[83] For example, in Figure 3. 25, Lin Chunsheng 淩純聲 (1901-1981) is seen measuring the body of a Hezhe woman with a ruler.

Figure 3. 25, "Working scenes of Lin Chunshen," Photograph, 1930s, Academia Sinica, Taiwan.

We may ask why Academia Sinica would establish a department of anthropometry, and why the researchers working for Academia Sinica did not write research reports on the results of their body measurement, only collecting samples and taking photographs. Why did Wu Dingliang publish an article on the bodies of the Pa Miao in English, but did

[83] Lin Chunsheng 淩純聲, *Xiangxi Miaozu Diaocha Baogao* 湘西苗族調查報告 (*Research Report on the Miao in West Hunan*) (Shangwu Chubanshe, 1947); and Lin Chunsheng 淩純聲, *Songhuajiang Xiayou de Hezhe Zu* 松花江下游的赫哲族 (*The Hezhe in the Lower Course of the Songhua River*) (Nanjing: Zhongyan Yuan, 1934).

not publish in Chinese, even though he was director of anthropometry at Academia Sinica? In addition to Wu Dingliang's aforementioned 1942 article in English, Yang Chengzhi's 1937 article *Guangdong Beijiang Yaoren de Wenhua Xianxiang Yu Tizhixing* 廣東北江瑤人的文化現象與體質型 (*The Cultural Phenomena and Body Types of the Yao on the North River in Guangdong*), is another of the very few articles to feature discussion of results from bodily measurement.[84] What is striking was that although they use the same methodology, the conclusions of the two articles by Wu and Yang were contradictory: Wu emphasises differences among the Miao, Luoluo and Han Chinese in Yunnan, while Yang claimed that the bodies of the Yao are rather similar to the Han Chinese and that both of them are yellow.[85] Another evident difference is the appearance of the term *Zhonghua Minzu* 中華民族 in several parts of Yang's article, emphasising that both Yao and Han belonged to *Zhonghua Minzu*, the subject of a political discourse that developed in Republican China.[86] In his studies of the history of anthropometry in modern China, Wang Daohuan also observes the political use of anthropometry in the Republican era.[87] The implications of anthropometry in China and the explorations of ethnic classification in modern China offer another great example of the political adoptions of scientific theories.

Ethnic classification was indeed a complicated issue in modern China. Some scholars have offered insights into the *Minzu Shibie* 民族識別 (ethnic classification) project, a massive state-sponsored enterprise undertaken in the PRC wherein a team of social scientists and cadres fanned out across the non-Han minority regions of China to

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[84] 楊成志 Yang Chengzhi, "Guangdong Beijiang Yaoren de Wenhua Xianxiang Yu Tizhixing 廣東北江瑤人的文化現象與體質型 (The Yao Cultural Phenomenon and Body Type on the North River in Guangdong)," *Minsu* 民俗, 1, 3 (1937): 1-36.

[85] Wu, "The Physical Characters of the Pa Miao," 53; Yang, " Guangding Beijiang Yaoren," 33.

[86] James Leibold, "Searching for Han: Early Twentieth-Century Narratives of Chinese Origins and Development," in *Critical Han Studies: The History, Representation, and Identity of China's Majority*, eds., Thomas Mullaney and James Leibold (London: University of California Press, 2012), 210-33; Lou Guiping 婁貴品, "Cong *Xinan Bianjiang* Zaiwen Kan Bianjiang Minzu de Guojia Rentong Yishi 從《西南邊疆》載文看邊疆民族的國家認同意識 (National Identity Among Frontier Peoples as Recorded in *The Southwest Borderlands*)," in *Zhongguo Xinan Wenhua Yanjiu* 中國西南文化研究, eds., Yang Fuquan 楊福泉 (Kunming: Yunnan Keji Chubanshe, 2013), 55-63.

[87] Wang Daohuan 王道還, "Shiyusuo de Tizhi Renleixue Jia: Li Ji, Shi Guolu, Wu Dingliang, Yang Ximei, Yu Jinquan 史語所的體質人類學家:李濟,史祿國,吳定良,楊希枚,餘錦泉 (The Anthropometrists: Li Ji, Shi Guolu, Wu Dingliang, Yang Ximei and Yu Jinquan in the Institute of History and Philology)," in *Xin Xueshu Zhilu (shang)* 新學術之路(上), eds., Du Zhengteng 杜正騰 and Wang Fansen 王汎森 (Taipei: Zhongyanyuan, 1998), 163-69.

determine once and for all the precise ethnic make-up of the nation, probing how we come to 56 ethnic groups and how the more than four hundred ethnic groups in the first census of 1953 were squeezed into fifty-six.[88] Thomas Mullaney has examined the discourse and practice of ethnic classification in PRC, as well as the legacies of the Republican era and the European linguistic influence. Among Mullaney's arguments, he emphasises that language played a crucial role in ethnic taxonomy throughout the twentieth century.[89] This chapter has added to the bodily criteria in the study of the history of ethnic classification in Republican China.

There was no standard answer to the number of ethnic groups in Republican China, and throughout the first half of the twentieth century, Republican China put considerable effort into exploring the concept of nationhood. Calculations of the number of ethnic groups changed through time and also varied from one, four, five, six, eight, to twelve among the many politicians, historians, and anthropologists involved in discussions of *Minzu*.[90] Zhang Qijun 張其昀 (1901-1985), a historian and politician, classified the nations of China into five ethnic groups,[91] echoing the political appeal for *Wuzu Gonghe* 五族共和 (the unification of five nations, referring to the Man, Han, Meng, Hui and Zang), one of the principle orientations of the Republican government from the 1930s onward.[92]

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[88] The most important works on ethnic classification are the articles of the special issue pertaining the categorization of ethnic groups in Yunnan in 1954 in *China Information* in 2004. These are : Thomas Mullaney, "Ethnic Classification Writ Large: The 1954 Yunnan Province Ethnic Classification Project and its Foundations in Republican-Era Taxonomic Thought," *China Information*, 18, 2 (2004): 207–241; Kevin Caffrey, " Who "Who" is, and Other Local Poetics of National Policy: Yunnan Minzu Shibie and Hui in the Process," 243-274; Stéphane Gros, "The Politics of Names: The Identification of the Dulong (Drung) of Northwest Yunnan," 275–302.

[89] Mullaney, *Coming to Terms with the Nation,* 42-68. For the discussion of linguistic criterion, also see Norma Diamond, "Ethnicity and the State: The Hua Miao of Southwest China" in *Ethnicity and the State*, ed., Judith D. Toland (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1995): 58.

[90] For a review of the ethnic classification on Republican China, see, Lin Huixiang 林惠祥, *Zhongguo Minzu Shi* 中國民族史 (*The History of the Chinese Nation*) (Shanghai: Shanghai Shudian Chubanshe, 2012).

[91] Zhang Qijun 張其昀, *Zhogguo Minzu Zhi* 中國民族志 (*The Chinese National Aspiration*) (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1928).

[92] Peng Wulin 彭武麟, "Nanjing LinshiZhengfu Shiqi de Jindai Guojia Zhuanxing yu Minzu Guanxi zhi Jiangou: Yi Wuzu Gonghe wei Zhongxing 南京臨時政府時期的近代國家轉型與民族關係之建構: 以五族共和為中心 (The Transformation of Modern Nation and the Construction of Nations' Relationships in Republican Government Nanjing: the Focus of Union of Five Nations)," in *Zhongguo Jindai Minzushi Yanjiu Wenxuan* (Shang) 中國近代民族史研究文選(上), eds. Chen Li 陳理 and Peng Wulin 彭武麟 (Beijing: Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe, 2013), 532-46 ; Pan Xianlin 潘先林, "Wuzu Gonghe Sixiang de Tichu, Queli Yu Yuanyuan Lunxi 五族共和思想的提出,

Later, with the growing importance of the southwest during wartime, the Miao, representing all the ethnic minorities in the southwest, was added in, for example Bai Meichu 白眉初 (1876-1940) and Lai Xiru 賴希如 classified the nations into six ethnic groups, basically a model of "five main nations+Miao".[93]

During the war with Japan, the idea of one nation was proposed, something evident in the publications of Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1893-1980), a Republican historian.[94] Gu argued that the purpose of conceiving the Chinese as one united whole was to avoid division and to fight against imperial invasion, and it was wrong to think there had formerly been five nations in China.[95] The aforementioned article by Yang on anthropometric research with the conclusion that both Yao and Han belonged to *Zhonghua Minzu* seems to echo, with little difference, Gu's 1937 appeal for a single Chinese *Zhonghua Minzu* nation. In the case of Republican China, therefore, ethnic classification was largely a social construction.[96] Wang Minke has also recognised that the extensive research conducted in the southwestern borderlands by Academia Sinica was to explore who else should be included in addition to the five nations mentioned above.[97] Through the analysis of the bio-politics of ethnic classification in China, I have contested the localisation of European and American anthropometry in China, and the political adoption of scientific theories.

The observational practice of anthropology, influenced by anatomy and the methodology of anthropometry, helps us to understand the presence of non-Han bodies in anthropometric-style photography, the new-style Miao albums, and other

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確立與淵源論析 (Analysis of the Origins and Establishment of the Ideas of the Union of Five Nations)," *Sixiang Zhanxian* 思想戰線, 32 (2006): 1-6.

[93] Lai Xiru 賴希如, "*Zhonghua Minzu Lun* 中華民族論 (Arguments on the Zhonghua Nation)," *Zhongshan Wenhua Jiaoyuguan Jikan* 中山文化教育館季刊, 2, 4 (1935): 1184 (1175-1199); Bai Meichu 白眉初, *Zuixin Minguo Dili Zonglun* 最新民國地志總論 (Beijing: Beijing Shida Shidixi, 1926).

[94] Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛, "Zhonghua Minzu Shi Yige 中華民族是一個 (The Chinese Nation is Only One)," *Xibei Tongxun (Nanjing)* 西北通訊(南京), 1 (1947): 3-7; "Weishenme Yaoxie "Zhonghua Minzu Shi Yige" 為什麼要寫"中華民族是一個" (Why I Wrote 'The Chinese Nation is Only One')," *Xibei Tongxun*, 2 (1947): 1-3.

[95] Zhou Wenjiu 周文玖 and Zhang Jinpeng 張錦鵬, "Guanyu "Zhonghua Minzu shi Yige" Xueshu Lunbian de Kaocha 關於"中華民族是一個"學術論辯的考察 (Research on the Academic Debate on 'China is One Nation')," in *Zhongguo Jindai Minzushi Yanjiu Wenxuan*, 305-21.

[96] Yung-chen Chiang, *Social Engineering and the Social Sciences in China, 1919-1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Tong Lam, *A Passion for Facts: Social Surveys and the Construction of the Chinese Nation-State, 1900–1949* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

[97] Wang, *Fuqin Nachang Yongbu Zhixi de Zhanzheng*, 61-65.

ethnographic paintings. Equally important, it is essential to be cautious with the concealed ideas of human variation. The ambivalent attitudes towards racial difference demonstrate that the discourse of race was unstable in the first half of the twentieth century and Republican China was attempting to explore the meanings of race they needed. We have seen the proliferation and popularisation of anthropometric-style photography and its influence on other art mediums in representing the bodies of ethnic minorities, but it is also important to recognise their intimate correlation to ethnic classification and the construction of nations in modern China.

Shengzhuang 盛装 (Festival Costumes): new ways of visualising the non-Han

As another evidential visual transformation, the costumes of ethnic minorities stand out in Republican photography. As I have discussed in the previous sections, in the imperial period, the clothes of non-Han subjects were described simply and images dealt with them in an even more simplified way. I have argued that non-Han festival clothes in albums were deliberately omitted due to the clothing regulations in Han Chinese rites and the prevailing copying practice. By contrast, fancy festival costumes appear in a number of photographs in the first half of the twentieth century. Professional anthropologists and other amateurs were all greatly interested in the ornate non-Han costumes. Several scholars have noted the modern construction of clothes and its association with national or ethnic identities. For example, Emma Tarlo has examined clothing's remarkable role as an indicator of identity in India.[98] In the same vein, Hugh Trevor-Roper has noted the significant role played by the kilt in the construction of a Scottish identity.[99] In her study of the relationship between authenticity and the representation of power in the costume of the Taiwan indigenous people, Henrietta Harrison demonstrates the centrality of clothing and the representation of the body to Chinese discourses of human identity.[100] In the case of China, it is also a modern construction that it is festival clothes that serve to represent ethnic minority identities.

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[98] Emma Tarlo, *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India* (London: Hurst & Company, 1996), 1-3.

[99] Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland," in *The Invention of Tradition* eds., Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 15-42.

[100] Henrietta Harrison, "Clothing and Power on the Periphery of Empire: The Costumes of the Indigenous People of Taiwan," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique*, 11, 2 (2003): 331-60.

Photography pertaining to non-Han clothes became a specific genre appearing frequently in several popular newspapers and periodicals. Its popularity can be clearly demonstrated through the titles of photographs in a wide range of different journals, such as "Guizhou Anshun Xianshu Dulong Miaozu Numiao zhi Zhuangshu 貴州安順縣屬渡龍苗族女苗之裝束 (Clothes of Female Dulong Miao in Anshun County, Guizhou)"; "Anshun Huamiao Nanzi zhi Zhuangshu, 安順花苗男子之裝束 (Men's Clothing Among the Huamiao in Anshun)," "Miaofu zhi Zhuangshu 苗婦之裝束 (Clothes of Miao Women)," "Mengsuo Baiyi Funü Zhuangshu 孟梭擺夷婦女裝束 (Clothes of the Female Baiyi in Mengsuo)," "Kangzangren Fushi Yilüe 康藏人服飾憶略 (The Tibetan Costumes of Xikang)," and "Tan Kouqin de Kangnü jiqi Zhuangshu 彈口琴的康女及其裝束 (The Tibetan Harmonica-Playing Girl and Her Clothes)." [101] The term *zhuangshu* 裝束 (clothing) in these titles of clearly indicates that the Republican-era Chinese were greatly interested in the dress of non-Han subjects.

The diversity of the clothes worn by non-Han peoples for different occasions was recognised by several Republican-era photographers. For example, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, Wu Zelin classified the clothes of the Miao in Guizhou into *Bianzhuang* 便裝 (casual costumes), and *Lizhuang* 麗裝 (beautiful costumes). Moreover, in Figure 3. 26, a photograph showing Baiyi costumes, five girls stand in a single line across the image. The annotation below the image tells us that number one and number five are *Lizhuang* 禮裝 (ceremonial costumes), numbers two and three are *Wuzhuang* 舞裝 (dance costumes), and number four is *Pingshi zhi Zhuangban* 平時之裝束 (costume for daily life).

[101] Anonymous, "Guizhou Anshun Xianshu Dulong Miaozu Numiao zhi Zhuangshu 貴州安順縣屬渡籠苗族女苗之裝束 (Clothes of Female Dulong Miao in Anshun county of Guizhou)," *Mengzang Yuebao* 蒙藏月報，6, 1 (1936): 6; "Anshun Huamiao Nanzi zhi Zhuangshu 安順花苗男子之裝束 (Men's Clothes Among the Huamiao in Anshun)," *Mengzang Yuebao* 蒙藏月報, 6, 1 (1936): 7; Liu Renhang 劉仁航，"Miaozu zhi Zhuangshu 苗婦之裝束 (Clothes of Miao Women)," *Tuhua Shibao* 圖畫時報, 489 (1928): 1; Tian Shulan 田曙嵐, "Mengsuo Baiyi Funü Zhuangshu 孟梭擺夷婦女裝束 (Clothes of the Female Baiyi in Mengsuo)," *Minzhi* 民智, 26 (1937): 3; Ma Ruoda 馬若達, "Kangzang Ren Fushi Yilüe 康藏人服飾憶略 (Brief Memory of the Clothes of the Tibetan," *Luxing Zazhi* 旅行雜誌, 19, 8 (1945): 23; "Tan Kouqin de Kangnü Jiqi Zhuangshu 彈口琴的康女及其裝束 (The Tibetan Harmonica-Playing Girl and Her Clothes)," *Kaifa Xibei* 開發西北, 2 , 2 (1934): 6.

Figure 3. 26, Photograph of "Yunnan Yinan Baiyi Nüzi zhi Zhuang 雲南迤南擺夷女子之裝," *Nüzi Yuekan* 女子月刊, 3, 8 (1935): 1.

Among these images pertaining to non-Han clothes, festival finery receives a lot more exposure than day-to-day wear. Taking one page introducing the coiffures of Lolo women in the journal *Liangyou* as an example (Figure 3. 27), the majority of these were worn for festivals. At the top middle of this page, for example, the caption tells us that the image shows festival finery in Da Liangshan (大涼山的盛裝).

Figure 3. 27, Photograph of "Luoluo: Gedi Funü de Toushi 羅羅:各地婦女的頭飾 (Luoluo: the Coiffures of Women in Various Places)," *Liangyou* 良友, 158 (1940): 32.

In *Tuhua Shibao* 圖畫時報 (*Eastern Times Photo Supplement*), an image entitled "Yunnan Huamiao Zhi Shengzhuang 雲南花苗之盛裝 (the Festival Costumes of the Flower Miao in Yunnan)" was placed on the same page as images of three fashionable Qingdao ladies, groups of female tourists, and a female volleyball team. In the image (Figure 3. 28), the crescent-shaped coiffures, jewelled cloaks, the belts and the pleated

skirts signify the costume of Miao women.[102] Antonia Finnane has illuminated the evolution of clothes in modern China by linking them to modernity and urban fashions.[103] The occasional finery of Miao women also constituted a visual culture of fashion in Republican China. This echoes my discussion of the commercial dimension of photography of non-Han subjects in Republican China in the next chapter.

Figure 3. 28, Li Houyu 李厚餘, Photograph of "Yunnan Huaomiao Funü Zhi Shengzhuang 雲南花苗婦女之盛裝 (The Splendid Costume of Flower Miao Women in Yunnan)," *Tuhua Shibao* 圖畫時報, (1934).

Compared to the Miao albums, images of aristocrats were shown more frequently in photographic media. The Black Luoluo seem to be the only aristocracy visible in the Miao albums, while all others are plebeians in casual clothes. In modern photographs, however,

[102] More images of ethnic minorities in Shengzhuang could be seen in: Anonymous, "Shengzhuang zhi Miaofu 盛裝之苗婦 (Miao Women in Splendid Clothes)," *Dagongbao Xingqi Yinghua* 大公報星期影畫, 16 (1937): 1; Anonymous, "Xichui zhi Minzu 西陲之民族 (The Nations in the Western Borderlands)," *Liangyou* 良友, 123 (1936): 35. Anonymous, "Hanmiao Zachu de Guiyang Cheng 漢苗雜處的貴陽城 (Guiyang with both Miao and Han)," *Chunqiu* (shanghai) 春秋 (上海), 1, 2 (1943): 74.

[103] Antonia Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, Modernity, Nation* (London: Hurst, 2007), 43-5; Antonia Finnane and Anne McLaren, Dress, *Sex and Text in Chinese Culture* (Clayton, Vic.: Monash Asia Institute, 1999).

several local aristocrats are represented in their finery. For example, images of Guifu 貴婦(female aristocrats) in Xikang were represented in *Liangyou and Shenghuo Huabao*, and Mongolian aristocrats were shown in *Xinya Xiya.*[104] The clothing of the aristocracy is another factor contributing to the representation of *Shengzhuang* in Republican China. In imperial China, the clothing regulations were core to imperial order, while when we turn to a period of transformation, old cultures were deconstructed, and therefore the restrictions on representing the splendid finery of non-Han aristocracy were also broken down.

We have discussed in the last section how the back of non-Han bodies were shown, something ascribed to the science and methodology of anthropometry. Equally important, the back views were also designed to show details on the backs of the costumes. For example, in photographs of Tibetans in Qinghai by Zhuang Xueben, two girls, one viewed from the front and the other from the side, were set in the same image (Figure 3. 29) and the annotation stresses that "the ornaments on the back were more beautiful than the front ones 她們背後的裝飾反較前面漂亮." Another of Zhuang's articles with photographs in *Zhonghua* introduces Tibetan festival costumes and contains images viewed from the back. At the bottom left of the journal page (Figure 3. 30), of the two images, one shows front views of three Tibetan noblewomen and the other, larger image, highlights the back views of these three women. The accompanying text introduces the ornaments on the back in detail. Clearly the back view of the Tibetan women was to show the ornamentation on the back of their clothes.

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[104] Yang Dilin 楊帝霖, "Xikang Lieqi: Xikang Guizu Funü zhi Zhuangsu 西康獵奇: 西康貴族婦女之裝束 (Seeking Curiosity in Xikang: Aristocratic Women's Clothes in Xikang)," *Liangyou* 良友, 101 (1935): 17; Anonymous, "Xikang Yipie: Xikang Qingnian Guizu zhi Zhuangshu 西康一瞥:西康青年貴族之裝束 (A Glimpse of Xikang: The Clothes of Young Aristocrats in Xikang), *Shenghuo Huabao* 生活畫報, 29 (1933): 1; "Menggu Guizu Zhi Zhuangshu 蒙古貴族之裝束 (The Costume of the Mongolian Aristocrat)," *Xinya Xiya* 新亞細亞, 6, 6 (1933): 10.

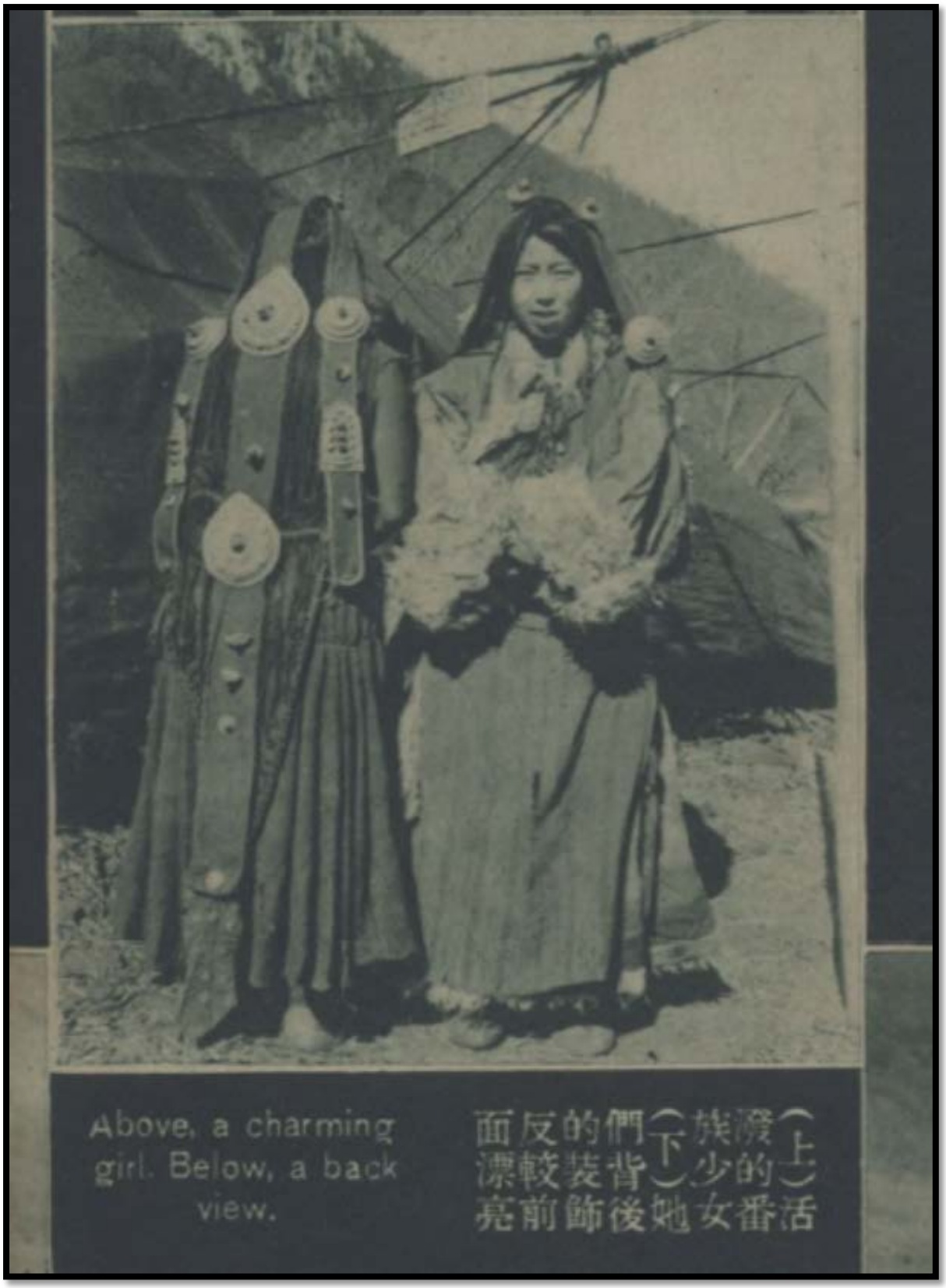

Figure 3. 29, Zhuang Xueben 莊學本, Photograph of "Kangzang Lie Qiji 康藏獵奇記 (Hunting Curiosity in Kangzang)," *Liangyou* 良友, 154 (1940): 26.

Figure 3. 30, Zhuang Xueben 莊學本, Photograph of "Zuori de Qinghai: Yanzhuang 昨日的青海：豔裝 (Yesterday's Qinghai: Bright and Colourful Costumes)," *Zhonghua (Shanghai)* 中華（上海）, 80 (1939): 30.

Similarly, when Peiyu introduced the Miao in Guizhou, two images of Miao girls (Figure 3. 31) were included. All the figures turn their backs towards the viewer, and the annotations under the image likewise described the ornamentation on the backs of their costumes. Several paintings of Miao girls by the aforementioned artist Pang Xunqin likewise portrayed views of their backs. For example, in Figure 3. 32, two Miao girls stand in a mountainous landscape, one seen from the front, while the other turns her back. The image shows a great amount of detail of the Miao girls' coiffure and neck ornament and the patterns on their clothes. It seems that the figure at the back is the back view of the girl in the front, and therefore that the image was designed to present both the front and back of their costumes. Therefore, the back views of non-Han women were often posted to show the detail of their exquisite costumes. In order to better understand the representation of the body, we have to investigate both the physical body and clothing – this is also the reason why this chapter places body and clothes together. Photography

showing the backs of non-Han women, especially in popular periodicals, seems to show more concern for their costumes than the physical traits or bodily proportions in which anthropologists were so interested.

Figure 3. 31, Peiyu 佩玉, Photograph of "Guizhou Miaomin: 貴州苗民," *Zhonghua (Shanghai)* 中華(上海), 89 (1940): 24.

Figure 3. 32, Pang Xunqin, “shengzhuang 盛装,” watercolour, 45 x 43.5 cm, 1942, Pang Xunqin Meishuguan, Changshu, Jiangsu.

One might also notice that the majority of these clothes are illustrated through images of women, and in particular young women, as the word *Shaonü* 少女 (young girl) in the above text indicates. In several of Zhuang Xueben's photographs in *Liangyou*, images of young girls were frequently represented, such as the young, innocent and beautiful Tibetan girl in Figure 3. 33, with the Chinese title of "Huopo de Fanzu Shaonü 活潑的番族少女" (A Lively Woman of the Fan People), accompanied by the rather approximate English translation "A charming girl". In Figure 3. 34 we see another photographic portrait of a young female Mexie of Yunnan: she has an innocent, baby-like face and wears a smile. The representation of young girls with innocent faces echoes Stevan Harrel's observations of the three metaphors for representing ethnic minorities in China: the non-Han were regarded as childish.[105] The English translation of 'a charming girl' for the photograph of the Tibetan girl indicates the sexual imaginings of the male Han intellectual, and such images of young non-Han girls were very popular in Republican-era periodicals.[106] This closely echoes the observation of several anthropologists, discussed at the very start of chapter one, that non-Han subjects were feminised in contemporary China. The investigations of two periods have revealed this process of feminisation and it is very important to recognise the dynamics of gender in different historical epochs and contexts.

[105] Harrel, "Introduction: Civilizing Projects and Reaction to Them," 10-17.
[106] Shuai Yucang 帥雨蒼,"Xianhua Baiyi: Dianlü Zaji 閒話擺夷：滇旅雜記 (A Free Chat on Baiyi: Travel in Yunnan)," *Libai Liu* 禮拜六, 91 (1947): 16; Anonymous, "Shangwei Tonghua Zhi Miaomin: Anshunxian Huaomiao Shaonü 尚未同化的貴州苗民: 安順縣花苗之少女 (The Unassimilated Miao in Guizhou: The Young female Flower Miao Girl in Anshun)," *Zhonghua (Shanghai)* 中華(上海), 55 (1937) :14; Anonymous, "Guizhou Miaozu Zhuangkuang: Guizhou Gejia Miao Shaonü Dongzhuang 貴州苗族狀況：貴州革家苗少女冬裝 (Situation of Miao in Guizhou: The Winter Clothes of Gejia Miao Young Female Girls in Guizhou," *Zhonghua* (Shanghai) 中華（上海）, 92 (1940): 19; "Yunnan Cheli zhi Baiyi Shaonü 雲南車裡之擺夷少女 (Young Girl of Baiyi in Cheli Yunnan)," *Guoji Wenhua* 國際文化, 1, 4 (1948): 1.

Figure 3. 33, Zhuang Xueben 莊學本, Photograph of "Huopo de Fanzu Shaonü 活潑的番族少女," *Liangyou* 良友, 154 (1940): 26.

Figure 3. 34, Photograph of "Mexie Shaonü 麼些少女," *Liangyou* 良友, 158 (1940): 36.

The images of non-Han subjects in *Shengzhuang*, including their coiffures, jewellery and the silver bowl and coin ornaments of the Tibetans, show what we could not see in the Miao albums from late Imperial China. We may ask how these photographs, showing

the non-Han festival clothes, were taken: why did they wear costumes? A festival, a wedding or a ceremony? Did they wear them specifically for the photograph? Did they receive some kind of payment? Were they happy for their photographs to be taken, or were they reluctant? How did the photographer persuade these ethnic minority subjects to wear their costumes? Who helped the photographer to persuade them to have their photographs taken? All of these questions are worthy of consideration when studying the photography of ethnic minorities.

In his travel accounts in Yunnan, Ding Wenjiang wrote:

> After a few days' repose, I go to visit two missionaries. Their church and house are in a village of the Flower Miao to the west of Mount Sapu. The architecture is very simple, but the display inside is rather tidy. The relatively old one (Nicols) is missionary Guo, from Australia, who has been staying in Yunnan for years and can speak Chinese and Miao. And the new couple of Missionary Wang come from the UK…. After explaining the purpose of my visit, they offer me great help. In the afternoon, all the men go to work in the fields, while only several women stay at home. It seems that measuring the body is something I cannot do now. Missionary Guo asks four women to wear their splendid costumes and get ready for me to take photographs.
>
> 歇了幾天, 我特別到那裡拜訪這兩位牧師. 他們的教堂和住房在灑普山的西坡一個花苗的村裡. 建築雖然很單簡, 裡面的陳設佈置卻是很潔淨. 一位年老的郭牧師英文名是(Nicols),是澳洲人, 到雲南已經多年, 能說中國話和苗話. 還有王牧師夫婦是新結婚從英國來的……我說明我的目的以後, 郭牧師倒也極力幫忙. 但是下午的時候所有的男人都到地裡做工去了. 只有幾個婦女在家. 測驗體格眼見得是做不成了. 郭牧師把在家的婦女叫了四個來. 穿上了他們禮服盛裝, 給我照相.[107]

Ding's travel accounts clearly tells us that the missionary Guo asked the Miao women in the village to wear their festival costumes for him. The festival costumes appearing in the photographs, on most occasions, were worn specifically for the photographer. The photographs of ethnic minorities from the early twentieth century were generally not

[107] Ding Wenjiang, "Yunnan de Tuzhu Renzhong," 18.

shots of the subjects' daily wear. Instead, photographers were supposed to persuade ethnic minorities to wear their beautiful festival or ceremonial costumes.

The photographers sometimes had to be introduced by someone who was either from the ethnic minority community or who had a close relationship with them. After being given gifts or money, they would agree to have their photographs taken. Researchers from Academic Sinica were usually received by local government officials, who would provide them with assistance, including introducing them to the locals. For example, Lin Yaohua wrote an interesting story in *Liangshan Yijia*. After some unpleasant quarrelling, the Luoluo boy Zhejue 哲覺 returned the towel that Lin gave him as gift, and demanded that Lin return the photographs Lin had taken of him.[108] The story of the Liangshan boy indicates that he had allowed Lin to take his photograph because of the gift of a towel. Responding to the aforementioned questions of how these anthropometric-style photographs with splendid costumes might be taken, clearly they were posed scenes arranged by photographers and their go-betweens. On most occasions, the costumes were worn deliberately for photography.

Collecting, exhibiting and preserving non-Han material culture

So far, we have provided detailed insights into the process of how *Shengzhuang* was manipulated to visualise the ethnic minorities in southwest China. It is also important to realise that a great number of photographs of different subjects were taken, including working scenes of non-Han subjects in daily clothing. Only a very small proportion of such photographs were shown in popular periodicals, however; photographs of non-Han subjects in festival clothes were popularised instead. One might ask why Republican-era anthropologists and amateurs were so keen to seek opportunities to photograph non-Han *Shengzhuang*.

Apart from photographs, festival clothes from ethnic minorities were also collected, preserved and exhibited as material culture in their own right. In order to better understand the popularisation of non-Han festival costumes in photography, we have to consider it alongside the interest in and practice of collecting and preserving non-Han material culture, influenced by the development of museology in nineteenth century

[108] Lin Yaohua 林耀華, "Daxiao Liangshan Kaocha Ji 大小涼山考察記 (Survey in Big and Small Cold Mountain) 1943," in *Cong Shuzhai dao Tianye* 從書齋到田野, ed., Lin Yaohua (Beijing: Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Chubanshe, 2000), 415.

Europe.[109] The rise of the ethnographic museum in Europe is inseparable from the evolutionary theory that the primitive would soon become extinct, and the consequent necessity of preserving their material culture. A movement among writers, artists and linguists to study the spirit of vanishing peoples through their customs and languages that originally developed in German-speaking lands soon spread throughout Europe and the Americas.[110] Educated men and women and their governments participated fully in these new trends, by embarking on a long path to proliferate anthropology. These aspiring scholars created institutions for collecting, defining, and dispensing their new knowledge, including learned societies, peer-reviewed journals, private schools and museums, at home and in their new colonies. Several ethnographic museums, such as Musée d'Ethnographie and Musée de l'Homme, were established to educate the masses, rather than being reserved for specialists.[111]

Furthermore, another purpose of museum collection and exhibition is to let the people of the empire see the colonies. Several scholars, in important works from the perspectives of collection, curation and exhibition, have suggested that the rise of the museum in the nineteenth century was inextricably bound up with the nature and practices of imperialism.[112] Collections demonstrated a nation's reach and grasp, bringing the exotic world home, reducing it in size, placing it within new structures of knowledge, and absorbing it into the national imaginary.[113] Botanists, missionaries and many others who got the chance to visit distant lands all contributed to collecting botanical specimens and 'primitive' material culture items.[114]

European approaches to the institutional collection of botanical specimens and material culture profoundly influenced the collection, display, and preservation of objects from the ethnic minorities in the southwest of China among various Republican-era institutions. The study of the history of museums and collection in China is a growing

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[109] Ali Behdad and Luke Gartlan, eds., *Photography's Orientalism: New Essays on Colonial Representation* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013).
[110] Alice Conklin, *In the Museum of Man: Race, Anthropology, and Empire in France, 1850-1950* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2013), 101-8.
[111] Ibid, 136-44.
[112] Sarah Longair and John McAleer, "Introduction," in *Curating Empire: Museums and the British Imperial Experience*, eds., Sarah Longair and John McAleer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 1-3.
[113] Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn, eds, *Colonialsim and the Object: Empire, Material culture and the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1998).
[114] Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan, *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

discipline and some pioneering research has considered the rise of ethnographic museums. Situated in the construction of nationalism in wartime China, Andres Rodriguez has examined the collections of the West China Union University Museum of Art, Archaeology and Ethnology.[115] Chinese scholars An Qi and Wang Jianmin have also offered us insights into the ethnographic museums in Republican-era China.[116] In her monograph, *The Museum on the Roof of the World: Art, Politics, and the Representation of Tibet*, Clare Harris has illuminated the development of museums in Tibet.[117] Also, in her study of the history of museums in the PRC, Marzia Varutti interrogates ethnographic museums in China from the perspective of representational techniques and sites of display.[118] In a book chapter, Stevan Harrell examines Bimo Cultural Park and the preservation of the heritage of ethnic minorities in Guizhou.[119] Many of these researchers consider the conflation of politics, nation and representations of the non-Han in their studies of the ethnographic museum in both Republican China and the PRC.

Collection of non-Han material culture on a relatively large scale took place in the "National Survey of customs" movement in 1928, during which non-Han material culture was collected alongside Han artifacts.[120] The National Central Museum 國立中央博物院 in Nanjing and Academia Sinica were two institutions active in collecting the material culture of the southwest non-Han peoples. In the first half of the twentieth century, it is estimated that Academia Sinica collected 1,100 objects, 800 books and 7,000

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[115] Andres Rodriguez, "Nationalism and Internationalism on the Borders: The West China Union University Museum of Art, Archaeology and Ethnology (1914–51)," *Museum History Journal,* 9, 2 (2016): 168-87.

[116] An Qi 安琪, *Bowuguan Minzuzhi: Zhongguo Xinan Diqu de Wuxiang Xushi yu Zuqun Lishi* 博物館民族志: 中國西南地區的物象敘事與族群歷史 (*Museum Ethnography: The Narrative of the Material Cultures in the Southwest of China and the History of Ethnic Groups*) (Beijing: Minzu Publisher, 2014); Wang Jianmin 王建民, "20 Shiji Qianbanqi Zhongguo Minzu Wenwu Shouji Yu Minzuxue Bowuguan Jianshe 20 世紀前半期中國民族文物搜集與民族學博物館建設 (Ethnographic Material Cultures Collections and the Construction of Ethnographic Museums in China in the First Half of the 20th Century)," in *Shanxi Lishi Bowuguan Guankan* 陝西歷史博物館館刊, vol. 4, eds., Shanxi Lishi Bowuguan Guankan Bianjibu (Xi'an: Xibei Daxue Chubanshe, 1997), 330-38.

[117] Clare Harris, *The Museum on the Roof of the World: Art, Politics, and the Representation of Tibet* (Chicago, Illinois ; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2012).

[118] Marzia Varutti, *Museum in China: The Politics of Representation after Mao* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2014), 129-44, 145-58; Marzia Varutti, "The Politics of Imagining and Forgetting in Chinese Ethnic Minorities' Museums Outlines," *Critical Practice Studies*, 12, 2 (2010): 69-82.

[119] Stevan Harrell, "China's Tangled Web of Heritage," in *Cultural Heritage Politics in China*, eds., Tami Blumenfield and Helaine Silverman (New York: Springer, 2013), 285-97.

[120] Wang, "20 Shiji Qianbanqi Zhongguo Minzu Wenwu Shouji," 330.

photographs.[121] During a research trip appointed by the Central Museum, Pang Xunqin 龐薰琹 collected more than 600 non-Han costumes for the museum in Yunnan and Guizhou.[122] In an expedition from 1936 to 1937 in western Sichuan, also sponsored by the Central Museum, a team led by Ma Changshou collected twelve boxes of material culture material from the Yi, Qiang and Zang peoples. In another expedition, the Chuankang Research Committee, led by Lin Chunsheng and sponsored by Academia Sinica and the Central Museum, collected further non-Han material culture objects.[123]

Furthermore, the Academia Sinica had a *Chenlie shi* 陳列室 (displaying room), exhibiting non-Han material culture. Additionally, the museum of Huaxi University was an ethnographic museum specialising in the collection of non-Han material culture from the southwest. In their university journal, they highlighted the prestige of this museum:

> The collections of cultural relics and specimens in our museum are very rich, occuying the top spot in all China. People from nearby and far away all came to visit our museum after hearing the news. The visitors were very active.
>
> 本校博物館所藏邊疆文物標本，搜羅宏富，為全國冠，遠近人士，聞風前來參觀者，甚為踴躍.[124]

An exhibition of *Hainandao Limiao Minwu Zhanlan* 海南島黎苗民物展覽 (*Exhibition of the Material Culture of the Hainan Island Li and Miao*) in Shanghai displayed swords, statues of gods, utensils, chopsticks, looms, textiles, and costumes, the latter making up a large proportion of the exhibits (Figure 3. 35). Among the photographs in a journal article by Zhuang Xueben introducing the life of the Qiang, their material culture was afforded a

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[121] Wang Mingke, "Hou Xiandai de Minzu Wenwu Zhanshi: Shiyu Suo Wenwu Chenlieguan Xinan Shaoshu Minzu Wenwu Zhanshi Shuoming 後現代的民族文物展示: 史語所文物陳列館西南少數民族文物展示說明 (Exhibition of Postmodern Ethnic Relics: Annotation for the Exhibition of the Relics of the Ethnic Minorities in the Southwest in the Displaying Room of Academia Sinica," *Gujin Lunheng* 古今論衡, 3 (1999): 55.

[122] Anonymous, "Zhongyang Bowuguan Pairen Diaocha Miaoyi Tongbao 中央博物館派人調查苗夷同胞 (Central Museum Appointed Specialists to Investigate the Miaoyi Brothers)," *Bianjiang Tongxinbao* 邊疆通信報, 2 (1940), 3.

[123] Wang, "20 Shiji Qianbanqi Zhongguo Minzu Wenwu Shouji," 331-34.

[124] Anonymous, "Bowuguan Jinxun: Benxiao Bowuguan Suocang Bianjiang Wenwu Biaoben 博物館近訊:本校博物館所藏邊疆文物標本 (Museum News: The Collections of Border Relics and Specimens in the Museum of Our University)," *Huaxi Xiehe Daxue Xiaokan* 華西協合大學校刊, 1, 10-11 (1944): 6.

prominent place.[125] One important reason for the huge number of photographs being taken of non-Han clothing was that people were interested to see the material culture so widely exhibited in museums and other prestigious institutions.

Figure 3. 35, Zhu Shunlin 朱顺麟, Photograph of "Hainandao Limiao Minwu Zhanlan 海南島黎苗民物展覽," *Dongfang Zazhi* 東方雜誌, 34, 11 (1937): 1.

In the case of China, the imperatives of education, worry about the soon-to-be vanished primitive, and plans for enlightening the backward ethnic minorities caused the collection of those ethnic minorities' material culture. These reflected both the influence of Western museology and the grand ambitions of nation building in Republican China.[126] Along with many other objects, the clothes of ethnic minority women were collected. The popularity of photographs of festival costumes are reflections of the collection and

[125] Zhuang Xueben 莊學本, "Qiangmin Shenghuo 羌民生活 (Life of Qiang)," *Xinwen Bao Yuandan Tuhua Tekan* 新聞報元旦圖畫特刊, (1935), 1.

[126] Qiu Longhu 邱龍虎 and Gu Meixi 辜美惜, "Xiandaihua he Minzuxing Daoxiang Xiade Zhongyang Bowuyuan 現代化和民族性導向下的中央博物院 (1933-1949) (The Central Museum Under the Guidance of Modernity and Ethnicity)," *Zhongguo Bowuguan* 中國博物館, 1 (2014): 97-101.

exhibition of non-Han costumes and other material culture objects, and the mutual constitution of costumes, races and evolutionary theories.

Concluding Remarks

Bringing body and clothing to the fore, this chapter has examined China's imperial representations and orders of human variation. The bodies of a number of ethnic minorities were conceived as being different in both physical and cultural senses, featuring black skin, deep eyes, hooked noses and bare feet. Clothes were another important aspect of materialising the identities of ethnicities in Miao albums, but in most cases only the casual clothes of non-Han subjects were represented, instead of their festival finery, although the latter is a more familiar non-Han stereotype to the modern gaze. The clothing regulations distinguishing social groups and official ranks in Confucian rites and thus the Han-on-Han hierarchical order of clothing were the driving forces in this selective process of ethnographic representation.

When turning to Republican China, under the influence of Western anthropometry, some new characteristics of visualising non-Han bodies emerged: front, side and back views were shown; the individual figure was emphasised in full-length or half-length portrayals. For anthropologists, such styles of photography were for morphological observation, intended to better analyse the physical traits of different races and to conduct racial classification. The assumptions behind the images were that various body parts, including skin colour, hair, eyes, nose and the height and width of the head differed among different races. The Republican-era anthropologists, on most occasions, however, remained silent on the possible results of ethnic classification based on those bodily measurements they collected in the field. Although the anthropometric style of photography was utilised to visualise the non-Han body, and had a wide influence on commercial photography and other artistic mediums, it is important to recognise the bio-politics of body difference and the political adoption of scientific theories regarding human variations in Republican China.

The representation of non-Han subjects in *Shengzhuang* (festival costumes) was a modern construction influenced by Europe. Rather than encounters in the field, many photographs of non-Han women were negotiated, arranged and posed for photographers. Influenced by social Darwinism and the rise of anthropology and museology in the West,

non-Han festival clothes, along with other material culture objects, were collected, preserved and also visualised. Photography showing non-Han clothes became a popular genre in Republican visual culture. In my analysis of the representation of non-Han dress, I also reveal that images of women, in particular images of *Shaonü*, were more frequently shown than images of men, especially in popular periodicals, which demonstrates the sexual imagination of the male Han Chinese towards the beautiful young girls of the borderlands, in parallel to several scholars' observation of the feminisation of non-Han groups in contemporary China as discussed in Chapter one. The case of the representation of non-Han clothing offers a fascinating example of the convergence of body, gender and sexuality in power relationships.

The insights into China's imperial engagement with body and clothes also suggest it had its own unique ways in analogy with European imperial experiences. For example, the specific attention to feet, the clothing regulations constructed in late imperial rites, social order and gender morality, all shaped China's imperially bodied regimes of the southwest borderlands. Despite the introduction of European anthropometry to China to configure new types of human variation, we still see the localisation of the politics of difference in Republican-era China.

Chapter Four: Imperial Images? Rethinking Miao albums and Ethnographic photography

If one is interested in pondering further the questions of why depiction of the *Nüguan* images continued after the Qing had replaced local chieftains with Han Chinese officials; why the skirts of Duan Qunmiao varied so drastically in length and why images of the Shui Baiyi became standardised as naked women bathing in rivers, it is essential to explore the production processes, producers, and viewers of the Miao albums. More specifically, it is crucial to ask how these imperial images were popularised and circulated, and who were their potential – and actual – viewers. Were they all based on direct observation, or was there an album-copying industry? Was their circulation confined to government officials? Or did these visual materials reach a wider audience? Similarly, in order to better understand the overwhelming popularity of photographs of non-Han festival costumes and marriage customs – especially *Tiaoyue*, with its links to ideas of free love – it is important to investigate the background of the journals which set them before the public.

These questions are very important, not only because they have scarcely been explored, but they also help us understand exactly how imperial power was perpetuated through images distributed among people of different social status. By linking Miao albums to late imperial popular ethnography and photography of non-Han subjects to the culture of modern metropolitan cities like Shanghai, this chapter stresses the importance of the dimensions of visual economy and visual pleasure, and thus proposes a new way of viewing Chinese imperial images.

As has been discussed in the introduction, a number of scholars, both in China and the West, have highlighted the role of Miao albums as symbols of the great Qing visual regime. Their analyses are very convincing and significant for our understanding of the Qing colonial enterprise and China's early modernity in a global context. But when considering the historiography of studying imperial images, Deborah Poole reminds us that:

> In our rush to uncover the complicitous ties among art, representation, and power (or, perhaps more appropriately in this case, race and representation) we frequently

> forget that images are also about the pleasures of looking. Visual images fascinate us. They compel us to look at them, especially when the material they show us is unfamiliar or strange.[1]

Whilst her focus is modern ethnographic photography, Poole's observation is equally applicable to the study of the Miao albums, in which issues of pleasure and circulation have been largely ignored. Qi Qingfu, for example, argues that Miao albums of the Qing period were exclusively associated with government officials in Guizhou, since ordinary literati and artists could not penetrate into those remote lands.[2] Thus the intimate association of Miao albums with government officials has led to a historiographical focus on Miao albums' political importance as an imperial tool. It is my contention that such interpretations need to be revisited, in order to fully take into account the roles played by the literati, pleasure, and the marketplace in the production and consumption of these albums.

Addressing the continued production of Miao albums even after the Qing Empire had started to decline, Hostetler suggests a functional transformation "from serving a practical purpose related to governance to becoming objects collected and admired in literati circles".[3] The main section of this chapter reconsiders whether such a transformation took place. Existing scholarship has generally neglected the pleasure dimension of Miao albums, or placed it as a counterpart to their political importance in a binary relationship separating empire from pleasure.[4] This chapter thus proposes a new way of reading Chinese imperial images, by placing them in the context of late-imperial social and cultural histories of visual and material cultures. It emphasises the mutual constitution of imperial regimes and visual pleasures, arguing that the pleasure of looking is a key way through which imperial ideologies are conveyed, cultivated, disseminated

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1 Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: a Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton, N.J.; Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1997), 17.
2 Qi Qingfu 祁慶富, *Minzu Wenhua Zazu* 民族文化雜俎 (*Anthology of Nation and Culture*) (Beijing: Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Chubanshe, 2014), 209.
3 Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 187.
4 Walravens, "Illustrations of Ethnic Groups in Southwestern China," 179-193.

and achieved.

One may also ask why the pleasure function of Miao albums has been so often ignored. Although different in style, they are all representations of the 'alien', and reflections of an idealised world order and space in the mind of the Chinese.[5] However, Miao albums were conceived as images of ethnographic truth, while the *Shanhai Jing* and its various versions in many other works were regarded as fictional and purely for pleasure. For example, a Ming scholar, Hu Yinglin 胡應麟 (1551-1602), described *Shanhai Jing* as "the progenitor of eccentric language" (*gu jin yuguai zhi zu* 古今語怪之祖); in the *Siku Quanshu* 四庫全書 (*Complete Collection of the Four Libraries*), the *Shanhai Jing* was placed in the 'novel' category, and regarded as the most ancient novel in China.[6] The discussion of such illustrations with apocryphal tales and exaggerated imaginative elements is very easily linked to the domains of consumption and of pleasure, contrasting substantially with traditional interpretations of the Miao albums.

In her study of the history of anthropology in nineteenth-century Britain, Efram Sera-Shriar has examined the importance of observational practice influenced by anatomy to the conceptualisation of ethnographic truth.[7] In order to understand the omission of the pleasure function in interpretations of Miao albums and the difference between comments made about Miao albums and the *Shanhai Jing*, it is necessary to consider how Miao albums were authenticated in late-imperial China. Delving into the prefaces of some Miao albums, it is clear that there is indeed a common set of strategies and tactics for claiming to represent ethnographic truth, as has been discussed in the introduction. One of the most important is to emphasize the maker's long engagement with their non-Han subjects, direct observation and proper ethics of recording. Although these are narratives that claim authenticity, such ideas linking field observation to ethnographic truth have arguably remained very powerful, contributing to our ignorance of the pleasure

[5] Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Mapless Mapping," 218.
[6] Xu Huilin 許暉林, "Chaogong de xiangxiang: Wan Ming Riyong Leishu 'Zhuyi men' de Yiyu Lunshu 朝貢的想象: 晚明日用類書 "諸夷門" 的異域論述 (Tributary Imagination: the Narrative of "Section of the Alien" in books for Daily use in Late Ming), *Zhongguo Wenzhe Yanjiu Tongxun,* 20, 2 (2010): 169-192 (171).
[7] Sera-Shriar, *The Making of British Anthropology*, 109-16.

dimension of Miao albums down to the twenty-first century.

The new ways of reading Miao albums discussed here are situated in two contexts pertaining to the study of popular culture: one is the proliferation of popular ethnography in late imperial China and the other is imperial engagement with popular culture in studies of cultural imperialism. For decades, scholars from the disciplines of history, art history, economic history and literature have shown us the proliferation of the late imperial economy, characterized by the expansion of the education system, conspicuous consumption, leisure activities and the boom in the printing industry.[8] More recently, some scholars have brought the publication and consumption of popular ethnography into this realm of imperial popular culture. One popular genre of book, the *riyong leishu* 日用類書 (*books for daily use*), encyclopaedias for life in the late Ming period, included sections introducing the land and customs of 'the aliens'.[9] These encyclopaedias include *Wuche Bajin* 五車拔錦 (*Five Wagons of Brocades*), *Santai Wanyong Zhengzong* 三臺萬用正宗 (*Three Stages for Myriad True Uses*), *Wanyong Zhengzong Buqiuren Quanbian* 萬用正宗不求人全編 (*Complete and Authenticated Anthology for Myriad Uses Without Bothering Other People*), *Sancai Tuhui* 三才圖繪 (*Illustrations of Three Powers*) and *Miaojin Wanbao Quanshu* 妙錦萬寶全書 (*The Complete Book of Myriad Beautiful Treasures*), which, though poorly printed in studios in Fujian, reached a wide range of readers. In her monograph *Ming Qing Wenxu Zhong de Xinan Xushi* 明清文學中的西南敘事 (*The Southwest in the Ming-Qing Literary Imagination*), Hu Xiaozhen illuminates a growing market for things associated with the "southwest" including Miao marriage customs and the legends of female government officials, in late-imperial literature and printing enterprises.[10] Additionally, He Yuming reveals that books such as the Yuan-era *Luochong Lu* 裸蟲錄 (*Record of Naked Creatures*), which deals with exotic lands and peoples, were widely read during the late-imperial period.[11] My investigation of Miao

[8] David Johnson and Evelyn Rawski, *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Jonathan Hay, *Sensuous Surfaces: The Decorative Object in Early Modern China* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010); Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997).

[9] Wang Zhenghua 王正華, "Shenghuo Zhishi yu Wenhua Shangping: Wan Ming Fujianban Riyong Leishu yuqi Shuhuamen 生活, 知識與文化商品: 晚明福建版日用類書與其書畫門 (Life, Knowledge and Cultural Commodities: Books for Daily Use in Fujian Studios in the Late Ming and the Section on Paintings and Calligraphy," *Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo Jikan,* 41 (2003): 1-85.

[10] Hu, *Mingqing Wenxue Zhongde Xinan Xushi*, 234-248.

[11] He Yuming, *Home and the World: Editing the "Glorious Ming" in Woodblock-printed Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Harvard University Asia

albums is situated within this context of popular ethnography in late-imperial China.

The question of how imperial ideas were popularised is central to theories of cultural imperialism originating in British imperial history of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[12] Although pertaining to a different historical period and geographical area, the influential historiography examining the popular engagement with imperialism still raises intriguing questions as to whether Miao albums were popularised in late-imperial China, and, if so, in what ways Chinese imperial ideologies were popularised through visual and material cultures.

Through a careful reading of evidence collected from the prefaces of Miao albums, poems, novels, travel accounts and local gazetteers, this chapter argues that Miao albums were popularised in the marketplace and viewed for pleasure by consumers who included a far wider section of the population than local government officials alone. Divided into three main sections, it first brings to the fore the pleasure and curiosity aspects of Miao albums; it then identifies a greater diversity of consumers for these albums than has hitherto been acknowledged, and finally, by probing how and by whom Miao albums were produced, it highlights the participation of professional artists and the widespread practice of copying. Through decentring the political function of Miao albums, this chapter offers new ways of viewing Chinese imperial images within the context of popular culture.

The history of photographing ethnic minorities in modern China is an area that still awaits thorough exploration. As discussed in the introduction and other chapters, exceptional works by Sara Fraser and Wang Mingke discuss the production of a number of photographs taken by researchers from Academia Sinica and link them to the context of nation-building and the political importance of the southwest to Republican China.[13] I, however, observe the popularisation of photography in commercial pictorial periodicals in metropolitan cities, thus situating these representations in the context of the modern visual culture of Shanghai. In the same vein as the proposed historiography for the Miao

Center, 2013).

[12] Leonardi, "The Power of Culture and the Cultures of Power," 49-73.

[13] Fraser, "Antiquarianism or Primitivism?," 342-67. Wang, "Hou Xiandai de Minzu Wenwu Zhanshi," 55.

albums, this chapter considers intersections between the pleasure of the masses and the diffusion of national ideologies in modern China.

What is even more striking is that Miao albums did not disappear when photography became the new and trusted medium through which to visualise the non-Han subject. Some Miao albums were reproduced in the new style, influenced by anthropometric photography. Anthropologists in China were keen to collect them for both their scientific value and the purpose of preservation. This new Republican-era style Miao album is an extension of their double function, serving both for fun and for imperial regimes. Following interrogation of the Miao albums in late imperial China, we turn to the reproduction of Miao albums under the Republic. Then, drawing tentative conclusions, this chapter extends our knowledge to consider some commercial photographs not yet discussed in the previous chapters: photographs of Han Chinese wearing ethnic minority costumes and studio photographs of non-Han subjects.

Zhengqi Haoyi 爭奇好異 (competing over eccentricity and chasing exoticism): the anxiety of pleasure

When discussing the practical use of their albums for governing the non-Han peoples, some officials also expressed concern that others viewed the Miao albums merely for their exoticism. For example, at the end of his preface to *Diansheng Yixi Yinan Yiren Tushuo* 滇省迤西迤南夷人圖說 (*Illustrations and Text Relating to the Barbarians in Yixi and Yinan of Yunnan*), an album dated to 1788 in the Leipzig collection, He Changgeng 賀長庚, a local government official in Yunnan, claimed:

> Following the fashion of official writings, I wrote several pertaining to Yunnan. My experience recounts the extent of the difficulty of ruling ethnic minorities when they are unbalanced. Based on what my eyes and ears could reach, I depicted forty-four ethnic groups, each paired with an annotation at the end. Rather than for the purpose of competing over eccentricity and chasing exoticism, your servant prepares this to rule them and to gather news.
>
> 予濫竽仕籍，歷篆滇之三迤，體訪治夷之情而難易不齊，爰就耳目所及，繪以四十

四種，並録其概於端，非欲爭奇好異，聊備為治之採訪雲時.[14]

He initially emphasises that the forty-four images were all based on direct observation, the proper ethics of recording and his long engagement with the Non-Han as an imperial officer. He then announces that the album was not produced for *zhengqi haoyi*, but to provide useful information for the future governance of the non-Han people. This attempt to emphasise the authenticity of his album also revealed his disdain for those who designed albums in pursuit of exoticism. It reveals concern that his album might be viewed for fun despite his intention to contribute to the governance of non-Han subjects. The ways in which the albums were actually read could, of course, differ from how it was thought they should be read. The fact that the author tried to offer guidance on reading his album demonstrates to some extent the existence of albums made to convey a sense of exoticism.

Another intriguing dialogue in the preface to *Qiannan Miaoman Tushuo* 黔南苗蠻圖說 (*Album of the Miao in Southern Guizhou*), an album discussed in the introduction, by Gui Fu 桂馥, a government official who worked in Guizhou for more than fifteen years, offers further evidence for pleasure dimension to the albums. The dialogue starts with a guest's ridicule:

> My guest saw [the *Miaoman* illustrations I made] and mocked them: "you are really meddlesome. Previously you re-drew illustrations of raising children, which might be attributed to the purpose of educating children correctly; you then depicted illustrations of girls' admonition, … and you might do that for female chastity in a family. All of these are for the benefit of society. Now you have painted illustrations of *Miaoman*, which will not benefit our society and can offer people only fun and entertainment. Is there any benefit in so doing?"
>
> 客見而誚之: "子真好事業，前重畫養蒙圖說，取蒙以養正之意,又畫訓女圖說，

[14] Nentwig, *Das Yunnan-Album Diansheng Yixi Yinan Yiren Tushuo*, 2.

取家人利女貞之意，是皆有補於世. 今畫苗蠻圖，於世無補，只可供人玩好而已，奚足取？”[15]

I replied: “With respect, I must disagree. Have you not heard that when scholars of ancient times carried out research they placed illustrations on the left and text on the right, deriving a representation from the illustration and an explanation from the text? Before the Qin and Han dynasties, books were lost. In terms of those that are extant today, such as Yan Gushi’s *Illustrations of the King’s Assembly* in the Tang dynasty, illustrations of refugees and Shendu’s illustrations of the Western Regions in the Song dynasty, Zhao Mengfu’s illustrations of the customs of Bin in the Yuan dynasty, Yang Dongming’s illustrations of starving people and Pengshao’s illustrations of salt-making in the Ming era, and illustration of tributaries, illustrations of farming and weaving, and illustrations of cotton in our own era, all were inscribed by emperors and represented their phenomena through images. Moreover, after Guizhou province was integrated into the territory, Miao barbarians caused trouble frequently. If officials ruling this area are not familiar with the local customs, will it not be difficult to prevent this? That is the urgent purpose behind my making illustrations of the *Miaoman*.

餘曰：“唯唯否否，子不聞古之學者，為學有要，置圖於左，置書於右，索象於圖，索理於書. 秦漢以前，圖籍散佚，傳於今者，如唐顏師古之王會圖，宋鄭俠之流民圖，盛度之西域圖，元趙孟俯之豳風圖，明楊東民之饑民圖，彭韶之鹽場圖，又如我朝之職貢圖，耕織圖，棉花圖，皆邀宸翰褒題，無非取索象於圖之意. 且黔省自入版圖以來，苗蠻屢滋事矣，蒞茲土者，苟不悉其風俗，好尚而欲思患，預防不亦難乎？此余之畫苗蠻圖，所亟亟也.”[16]

By highlighting a contradiction between Gui Fu’s expectations and the guest’s actual viewing experience, this dialogue is indeed important, offering new insights into the Miao album’s functions. Gui’s guest observes the fashion of making illustrations for texts. He

15 Li, *Qiannan Miaoman Tuce Yanjiu*, 151.
16 Ibid, 151.

argued that while it made sense to him to make illustrations for the education of children, it was useless to make illustrations of 'barbarians' (*Man* 蠻), as the phrases *yushi wubu* 於世無補 (bringing no benefit to society), and *zhike gongren wanhao eryi* 只可供人玩好而已 (offering people only fun and entertainment) vividly indicate. Gui then justifies their significance by linking them to the theory of *Suoxiang yutu, suoli yushu* 索象於圖, 索理於書 (seeing through an image and enlightening through the written word), which values images as an essential technique for learning, a methodology initially described by Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104-1162), a well-known Song scholar.[17] At the end of the conversation, Gui also explains the instrumental role of the Miao album in ruling the non-Han in Guizhou. Obviously, Gui disagreed with his guest who asserted that the Miao albums could only serve for fun and entertainment.

This was not necessarily a conversation that had actually happened, as other writings also start with the conventional *ke yue* 客曰 (the guest asks), and *yu yue* 餘曰 (I replied), such as *Banqiao Zaji* 板橋雜記 (*Jottings in Banqiao*) by Yu Huai 餘懷 (1616-1696).[18] Instead, it was a technique employed by the author to convey the themes, purposes and main concerns of his writing. What was Gui Fu's purpose in listing this dialogue with his guest at the very start of his preface for the album? He might have been concerned that others would see the album in the same way as his guest. He was certainly dissatisfied with the idea that the Miao album was merely for fun and pleasure, and his reply highlights the more "noble" or "exalted" function of the album as an imperial tool.

Gui does not provide any background information about his guest, but this dialogue suggests that the Miao albums could be viewed by a diverse range of people. Like Gui's guest, others might have viewed these albums for pleasure and thought that this was their only function; indeed, this may have been the perspective of many non-official viewers. The function of Miao albums varied among different consumers in different contexts, but one cannot deny the albums' dimension of fun and their pleasure function.

Although the two accounts from He and Gui discussed above spend much ink

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[17] Bray, "Introduction: The Powers of *TU*," 1.

[18] Yu Huai 余懷, *Banqiao Zaji* 板橋雜記 (*Jottings in Banqiao*) (Zhengzhou: Zhengzhou Guji Chubanshe, 2016), 1.

addressing the practical utility of Miao albums as tools of imperial colonisation and governance, it is important to note that the production of albums was not carried out under imperial direction, instead being a fashion that many government officials followed in their spare time. The account in the preface of a 1743 Taiwanese album, *Taihai Caifeng Tu* 臺海采風圖 (*Ethnographic illustration in Taihai*) demonstrates this point well, as its author Liu Shiqi 六十七, a Manchu government official, puts it:

> In the winter of the *guihai* year of the reign of Emperor Qianlong (1743), I came to investigate this land on the order of the emperor. ….all are willing to be civilized, waiting to be called and ruled, even for those inhabiting faraway places. I am a minor official, with no talent, and all I could do was to work hard on promoting the intentions of the court which were to raise men of virtue, and I did not dare to relax day or night. When I was free, I interviewed the locals and asked for their customs, including the exotic local products, especially those that could not be seen on the mainland of China. I started to believe that in this grand universe, anything could exist. In the free time when I had accomplished my official duties, I depicted several images based on trustworthy sources. Although it could not even reflect two or three tenths of Taiwan, the nice land and exotic customs are enough to convey the purpose of education. The scenes of offering the tribute of birds and dogs need no repetition. I named this album *Taihai Caifeng Tu,* leaving it in my travelling box, in order to broaden and refine the knowledge of gentlemen.
>
> 乾隆癸亥冬, 余奉天子命, 來巡斯土……林林總總, 莫不蒸然向化, 仰見聖治昭宣, 無遠不屆. 小臣不才, 惟有勤宣朝廷愛養德意, 夙夜不敢自遑, 閑及采方問俗, 物產之異, 種種怪特, 多中土未見者. 始信區宇之廣, 其間何所不有. 公餘之暇, 即其見聞可據者, 今繪諸冊若幹幅, 雖不能殫其十之二三, 而物土之宜, 風俗之殊, 亦足以表聲教之訖, 獻雉貢獒, 無煩重譯也. 爰題臺海采風圖, 彝諸行篋, 歸質於博雅君子.[19]

Although this is an album depicting the ethnic minorities in Taiwan, it is still helpful for understanding the production of ethnographic illustrations of late imperial China in

[19] Qi, *Qingdai shaoshu minzu tuce yanjiu,* 289.

general, as Taiwan was also part of the Qing colonial enterprise.[20] Despite Liu's Manchu background, the text above clearly suggests a Han Chinese tributary system, an imagined and idealized Chinese world order.[21] Manchu identity complicates the situation in relation to the imperial images of the Qing dynasty, especially when considered in the light of the historiography of the "New Qing History".[22] How did the Manchu rulers identify themselves, when compared with the various ethnic minorities in the southern borderland? Liu's claims that the indigenous Taiwanese were all eager to be cultivated and assimilated by an advanced culture vividly demonstrates how the Han ideology of a tributary system was employed to convey Manchu superiority.

Liu also claims that he had made the album in his spare time, as the words *xian* 閑 and *xia* 暇 clearly indicate. Qi Qingfu briefly mentions this text in his critique of Hostetler's interpretation of the transformation of Miao albums' function from imperial tools of officials in the High Qing to objects adored by the literati in the late Qing period, since this text, though written in the High Qing, reveals less concern with imperial governance. At the end, Liu clearly states that his purpose is to *boya junzi* 博雅君子 (broaden and refine the knowledge of gentlemen), an idea probably generated from a much earlier book, *Bowu Zhi* 博物誌 (*A Treatise on Broad Learnings of Things*) by Zhang Hua 張華 (232-300), which introduced exotic lands, products, and 'alien' peoples.[23] The full text tries to shed light on or even exaggerate exotic customs and local products unique to Taiwan. Thus the Miao albums' political use should not be overstated.

Drawing on these three texts, this chapter further demonstrates that the Miao albums are best interpreted by recognising that their functions as an imperial tool and their existence as a material cultural object created for the pleasure of looking are not mutually exclusive. Imperial ideologies and a message of cultural superiority over the non-Han were often most successfully conveyed through the curiosity, surprise and joy provoked by the depiction of exotic and eroticised customs, including scenes illustrating *Tiaoyue* marriage customs and depictions of naked women bathing.[24] Local government officials'

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[20] Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography,* 15-17.
[21] Perdue, "The Tenacious Tributary System," 1002-14.
[22] Joanna Waley-Cohen, "The new Qing history," *Radical history review*, 188 (2004):193-206.
[23] Zhang Hua 張華, *Bowu Zhi* 博物誌 (*A Treatise on Broad Learnings of Things*) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1985), vol,7-10, 42-81.
[24] Mann, *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Chinese History*, 169-185.

concerns about ruling non-Han peoples and about Miao rebellions all suggest an intimate correlation between the Miao albums and the imperial regime in the borderlands. Such rhetoric provides a good demonstration of the symbolic meanings of Miao albums, but the extent to which they could provide practical help to local officials in ruling non-Han groups needs further investigation. In his study of images of ethnic minorities in Yunnan gazetteers, Giersch argues that "as with Euro-Americans who formulated Indian policy, the images of indigenous mattered because they shaped Qing assumptions about 'what they thought they could get' from 'barbarians.' In general, Qing officials thought they could get more from those groups who conformed more closely to civilized ideals; these were the groups whom imperial officials sought to cultivate as allies".[25]

Some Miao albums, for example *Yunnan yingzhi Miaoman Tuce* 雲南營制苗蠻圖冊 (*Album of Miao Barbarians for Military Use in Yunnan*; undated, *circa* nineteenth century) now in the collection of the Wellcome Trust, also records Miao rebellions, whether they paid taxes, and what tribute they could offer, which might have been useful to future rulers. Concerns that the albums might be misunderstood as mere exotic curiosities, and Gui's guest's comment that these illustrations "can offer people only fun and entertainment" suggest, however, that Miao albums also fulfilled other functions. A new way of reading Chinese imperial images is to emphasise both their political importance and the visual curiosity that they provoked, and neither of these aspects should be ignored. I have highlighted how pleasure was indeed a dimension of the functions of Miao albums. This argument can be further strengthened by demonstrating that these albums had viewers besides government officials, as we will see below.

Multiple Viewers: The Growing Market for Popular Ethnography

By making, collecting or simply viewing an album, the government officials of Yunnan could potentially use them in the governance of the non-Han populace. However, this section demonstrates that the Miao albums were viewed by many who were not

[25] Giersch, *Asian Borderlands*, 82.

government officials; in fact, they reached a much wider range of viewers than has traditionally been assumed. They were circulated in several regions outside of Yunnan and Guizhou, including Beijing, Shanxi, Henan and Anhui.[26] At a time of growing immigration and economic cultivation,[27] the Miao albums are best understood within a context of dynamic and frequent encounters between the Han Chinese and the borderland peoples, as well as the growing market for popular ethnography in the form of local gazetteers, travel accounts, novels, poems and art.

In the previous three chapters, I have referred a few poems of *Zhuzhi Ci* style and Several poems were apparently written after viewing Miao albums. For example, a poem written by Yu Shangsi 餘上泗, a local of Guizhou, who was successful in the imperial examination at provincial level, commented on the images of female government officials:

> Feeling proud, she discusses the rivers and mountains (national affairs),
> 指顧江山亦自豪
> She moves forward in the front court, and the light cloud hangs high.
> 廳前移步曉雲高
> In the image, I see an old female official,
> 女官舊向圖中見
> Servants were divided into two lines, holding her embroidered robe.
> 婢子分行捉繡袍.[28]

The third line of the poem demonstrates that Yu wrote it after viewing images of *Nüguan*. In chapter one, I have shown a *Nüguan* image (Figure 04 of chapter one) in the British Library's collection; depicting a female official in an exquisite pleated dress standing in the court and surrounded by servants, this resembles the scene described in Yu's poem. Yu therefore probably viewed a similar album. A large number of bamboo

[26] Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise,* 192.
[27] Lee, *The Political Economy of a Frontier*; "The Legacy of Immigration to Southwest China," 279-304.
[28] Qiu Liangren 丘良任 et al. (eds.), *Zhonghua Zhuzhici Quanbian* 中華竹枝詞全編 (*Complete Edition of the Bamboo Branch Poems in China*), vol, 7, (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2007), 36.

branch poems were composed, and lower-status literati contributed to the genre. Given this level of production and their relationship to the Miao albums, it seems that the albums were viewed by a number of literati of different levels.

A much earlier record in *Han Shu* 漢書 (*Book of Han*), may also tell us more about the audience and function of ethnographic illustrations in general:

> In the first month of spring in the fourth year [of the *Jianzhao* Reign: 35 BCE], because the execution of Zhizhi *Chanyu* [the Xiongnu monarch] was reported in the ancestral temple in the suburbs, there was an amnesty for 'all-under-heaven'. The ministers wished the emperor longevity with wine, and therefore showed the nobles of the rear palace [i.e., the concubines] illustrations of (the Xiongnu).
> (建昭) 四年春正月, 以誅郅支單於告祠郊廟, 赦天下. 群臣上壽置酒, 以其圖書示後宮貴人.[29]

Clearly the illustration of the Xiongnu (an ethnic group in Inner Asia) was shown to the concubines in the imperial palace, rather than those traditionally identified as viewers, i.e., emperors. Thus these concubines, who did not participate in formal politics, might have viewed the illustrations of the Xiongnu for fun and from a sense of curiosity about an exotic land, people and customs. Women were also an audience for Chinese paintings and illustrations.[30] Although this illustration is rather early, it still helps us to understand the broad audience and functions of ethnographic illustrations. It is not clear whether court ladies also viewed Miao albums in late imperial China, but this piece of text from the *Han Shu* suggests one more potential audience for ethnographic illustrations.

Moreover, some albums, including the aforementioned *Qiannan Miaoman tushuo,* were available in print, suggesting that Miao albums tended to be made available to broad audiences. Several historians of print in late imperial China, including Robert Hegel,

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[29] Ban Gu 班固, *Han Shu* 漢書 (*Book of Han*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), 295.
[30] Craig Clunas, *Chinese Painting and its Audiences* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 87.

Joseph McDermott, and Timothy Brook, have examined the technical innovation, refinement and standardization of woodblock printing, the rapid growth of audiences and the expansion of popular and vernacular publications. [31] Wood-block prints for printing illustrations were widely circulated in the art market during the Ming and Qing dynasties.[32]

Although *Qianan Miaoman Tushuo* is the only extant copy, this form of print was designed for a broad market. As Gui Fu had successfully published several books about children's education, he was probably also aware of the market for Miao albums. As previously mentioned, in her study of literature pertaining to the southwest, Hu Xiaozhen has observed the popularisation of ethnography in late imperial novels, including *Yesou Puyan* 野叟曝言 (*A Country Codger's Words of Exposure*), *Yin Shi* 蟫史 (*History of Insects*) and *Guwang Yan* 姑妄言 (*Arrogant Words*). For example, in *Guwang Yan*, the author Cao Qujing 曹去晶 observes:

> Tong Zihong stayed in Guizhou and Yunnan for more than a year, and copied a manuscript entitled *Tongxi beilu*. Then he asked the artists to carve an extremely exquisite printing board. It is available in all bookshops. Even those with only the merest hint of culture in their bellies do not fail to enjoy it.
>
> 童自宏在貴州雲南住了年餘回來，果然紀了一冊手抄，名為峒溪備錄. 遂命匠人刻了絕精的版刷印，傳到各書坊中都有. 腹中稍有文墨者無不喜閱.[33]

The last sentence in particular indicates the popularity of ethnographic works on the southwest. In his study on the the novel's sources, Chen Yiyuan observes that they were largely taken from *Dongxi Xianzhi* 峒溪纖誌 (*Brief Accounts of Dongxi*), a book about the customs and products of the ethnic minorities in the southwest written by Lu Ciyun 陸

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[31] Robert Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1988), 152-57; Joseph McDermott, *A Social History of the Chinese Book: Books and Literati Culture in Late Imperial China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006); Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure*, 112-42.

[32] Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China*, 134-48.

[33] Cao Qujing 曹去晶, *Guwangyan* 姑妄言 (*Arrogant Words*) (Taipei: Taiwan Daying Baike Gongsi, 1997), 482.

次雲, an eighteenth-century literatus and official.[34] Their production and reproduction, in the form of travel accounts, novels and ethnography, have illuminated the consumption of popular ethnography in late imperial China. As mentioned in the introduction, the 'alien' was discussed in late-Ming encyclopaedias for daily life. This genre of relatively poorly printed illustrated books was available to a wide range of readers.[35] I have argued here that Miao albums were also a genre of ethnographic illustration, and were part of a constellation of popular ethnography produced in various formats in late imperial China.

Several scholars of cultural imperialism have linked popular engagement with empire to the entertainment of working-class men and women in metropolitan cities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[36] One frequently cited example is the rise of museums in Britain, an important space for exhibiting the colony and disseminating imperial ideologies among the bourgeoisie, ranging from professionals to a wealthy upper middle class, as discussed in chapter three. Miao albums, along with other works of popular ethnography, resemble such European cultural imperialism in several ways, including their association with metropolitan cultures and their wider influences on different levels of readership.

Making Ethnographic Truth? The Paradox of Copying and the Participation of Artists in the Market Place

In the introduction, I made the claim that Miao albums were conceptualised and authenticated as products representing ethnographic truth through a set of narrative techniques. In this section, I argue that not all albums were made by those who had actually observed the non-Han peoples in their native lands; many artists contributed to the genre and copying was pervasive. Norma Diamond discusses Miao albums in her study of the changing meanings of "Miao" from imperial to contemporary China. She questions "whether most of the artists had ever travelled extensively through the

[34] Chen Yiyuan 陳益源, "Guwangyan sucai laiyuan erkao 姑妄言素材来源二考 (Second Research on the Sources of Guwangyan)," *Mingqing xiaoshuo yanjiu* 明清小說研究, 4 (1997): 127-136.
[35] Wang, "Shenghuo Zhishi yu Wenhua Shangping," 1-3; Xu, "Chaogong de xiangxiang," 169-192.
[36] Beaven, *Visions of Empire*, 207.

Yunnan and Guizhou frontier areas, let alone spent any time in the Miao communities. At best they may have seen some of these peoples in towns, markets, or along the roads and then, relying on available text and/or access to other 'Miao albums,' let their imaginations take over to highlight a special marker discussed in the text".[37] In what follows I seek to prove Diamond's hypothesis that several producers of Miao albums had not actually travelled extensively in the ethnic minorities' homelands, and that many of the Miao albums were made by copying.

Returning to the aforementioned preface of the *Qiannan Miaoman Tushuo,* the dialogue between Gui Fu and his guest continues:

> My guest asked again: "Professional painters in the market have already done this. Is there any need to repeat their work?[38]
> 客又曰,"若然市中畫工已先為之，何庸再事？"

The question posed by the guest reveals that some Miao albums were actually made by professional painters, indicating some degree of production for the market and hence availability to a wide range of consumers. In a response which has been quoted in the introduction to this dissertation, Gui admits that Miao albums circulated in the market place and that most were based on an album by Zhang *mou* 張某 (a certain Mr Zhang), a local of Guizhou. The omission of Mr. Zhang's full name might suggest that he was of lower status, probably a professional artist or one of the lower-class literati of Guizhou.

Gui also emphasises the roughness and inaccuracy of Miao albums made by professional artists, and highlights the accuracy of his own album, for which he claims a basis in meticulous observation. Gui obviously wanted his albums to stand out in the marketplace, but his comments also confirm for us that many Miao albums were copied.

Miao albums also attracted the interest of European and American missionaries, diplomats, art dealers, adventurers and anthropologists visiting China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and several were collected and brought back to

[37] Diamond, "Defining the Miao," 101.
[38] Li, *Qiannan Miaoman Tuce Yanjiu*, 151.

Europe and America. Archibald Colquhoun recorded a conversation with a Yunnan school-master about Miao albums in his well-known travel account, *Across Chrysê: Being the Narrative of a Journey of Exploration through the South China Border Lands from Canton to Mandalay*, published in 1883:

> He (the school-master) pointed out to us several of the different tribes present, and did us a great service, through the *tin-chai* [lit. 'messenger', one of Colquhoun's interpreters], by telling him of the existence of a series of pictures of the aboriginal people, made by an amateur artist (a gentleman who painted for pleasure). This man, he said, was dead, but copies, he believed, were extant in Kai-hua. One series had been sent to the Viceroy of Yunnan as a present, and one was in the possession of his family, at Kai-hua.[39]

This text indicates that this particular Yunnan album was made by a gentleman who painted for pleasure, something which supports the argument above about the pleasure dimension of Miao albums. It also demonstrates those participating in the albums' production extended beyond the official class. Moreover, the confidence of the school-master about the existence of copies in Kai-hua again provides evidence that many albums were copied. The school-master also said that one series had been sent to the Viceroy of Yunnan as a present, suggesting another possible source for the albums in officials' collections.

The way in which the *Bolin Tushuo* 伯麟圖說 (*Illustration and Texts of Bolin*) was made provides further evidence that copying was common. The *Bolin Tushuo* was an album on Yunnan commissioned by the Manchu governor Bolin 伯麟 (?-1823) in 1818 and which received significant attention in *Daoguang Yunnan Tongzhi Gao* 道光雲南通誌稿 (*Draft Gazetteer of Yunnan during the Daoguang Reign*). An album with twenty-two entries entitled *Yunnan Zhongren Tushuo* 雲南種人圖說 (*Illustration and Texts on the Ethnic Groups of Yunnan*), in the collection of the Yunnan University Library,

[39] Archibald Colquhoun, *Across Chrysê: Being the Narrative of a Journey of Exploration through the South China Border Lands from Canton to Mandalay* (London: Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1883), 359-60.

is said to have been selected from *Bolin Tushuo*.[40] Bolin appointed Li Gu 李沽, a renowned nineteenth-century local artist from Yunnan, to make an album for him. Li based the governor's album, which became the *Bolin Tushuo*, on his own collection *Yunnan Zhuyi Tu* 雲南諸夷圖 (*Illustrations of Various Barbarians in Yunnan*).[41] This seems to suggest that it was common to produce albums by copying, especially among the artists commissioned to make albums, or who made albums for the marketplace. Although several officials, like Gui Fu, professed to despise professional artists because they copied Mr. Zhang's album, in reality, even government-commissioned albums such as the *Bolin Tushuo* were copies, rather than works produced from direct observation.

Some scholars have suggested that the *Yiren Tushuo Mulu* 夷人圖說目錄 (*Catalogue of Illustrations and Texts of the Barbarians*), an album in the collection of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, is a copy of *Bolin tushuo.*[42] Among the extant Miao albums, I have found that both *Yunnan Sanyi Baimantu Quanbu* 雲南三迤百蠻圖全部 (*Complete Illustration of all Barbarians of Yunnan's Three Frontiers*) held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and an album with the same title *Yiren Tushuo Mulu* in the Harvard-Yenching Library, show distinct similarities to the *Yunnan Sanyi Baimantu*. Moreover, Qi Qingfu has found five more similar albums in the collection of Chinese libraries and museums.[43] These multiple versions relating to the same original strongly indicate the prevalence of copying in the production of Miao albums.

Although another genre, a consideration of the Ming-era *Zhigong Tu* 職貢圖 (*Tributary Illustrations*) attributed to Qiu Ying 仇英 (1494-1552), is a potentially useful avenue for understanding the production of ethnographic illustrations more broadly. This depicts foreigners on their way to or at the Chinese court to offer gifts, such as jewellery and auspicious animals, to the Chinese emperor, and showing their respect and willingness to be 'civilised'. Peng Nian's 彭年 (1505-1566) colophon to the *Tributary Illustrations* records that:

This handscroll was painted at the house of Mr. Chen, who is called Huaiyun. Mr.

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40 Yunnan University Library, ed., *Qingdai Dinqian Minzu Tupu*, 6-7.
41 ibid, 6.
42 Qi, *Qingdai Shaoshu Minzu Tuce Yanjiu*, 59-67.
43 Qi, *Minzu Wenhua Zazu*, 70-92.

Chen's given name is Guan, and he is from Changzhou. He repeatedly hosted [Qiu] at his mountain pavilion over several winters and summers. There [Qiu] was not hurried or forced; hence, he was able to make complete use of the skill of his mind's inventions, which were refined, subtle, and beautiful, with fully conceived ideas. Although the men of the different nations are foreign, they have been examined according to the pictures and records, and in the end nothing is disregarded or in error. In his ability he has surpassed the men of antiquity.

此卷畫於懷雲陳君家, 陳君名官, 長洲人, 與十洲善, 館之山亭, 屢易寒暑, 不相促迫, 由是獲畫. 其心匠之巧, 精妙麗密, 各極意態, 雖人殊國異, 而考按圖誌, 略無違謬. 能事直出古人上.[44]

This text suggests that Qiu's *Tributary Illustrations* was influenced by his access to images at the home of his friend Mr. Chen. Though Qiu has been honoured as one of the Four Great Masters of painting of the Ming Dynasty, very little is known about his life. His name, unlike the other three Great Masters of Ming Painting, Shen Zhou (1427-1509), Wen Zhengming (1470-1559), and Tang Yin (1470-1523), did not appear in the social writings of his contemporaries because he was a professional painter and therefore considered an artisan member of the lower classes, while the other three artists were literati, in the upper levels of the social strata.[45] Thus this scroll attributed to Qiu highlights the active engagement of professional painters with ethnographic illustrations. It has generally been assumed that the makers of tributary illustrations were court painters who had the opportunity to observe foreigners coming to the Chinese court, the diplomats who were sent to investigate the borderlands and the local government officials ruling the local ethnic minorities, as suggested in the prefaces to several tributary illustration works. Yet the involvement of Qiu, a professional painter, in their production, indicates at least the popularity of the genre and the spread of its production. As one product in the proliferating late imperial art market, the symbolic and idealised imperial

[44] Su-Chen Chang, "A Flourishing Scene of Prosperity: A Study of the Scroll 'Qingming Shanghe Tu' Attributed to Qiu Ying," (Ph.D. Diss., University of Oregon, 2004), 7.
[45] Ellen Laing, "Problems in Reconstructing the Life of Qiu Ying," *Ars Orientalis,* 29(1999): 69-89.

blueprint was thus popularised and circulated among officials, literati and even the semi-literate.

This discovery of the prevalence of copying complicates our understanding of the production of ethnographic knowledge. In his examination of the sources representing the 'alien', Ge Zhaoguang observes the intermingling of previous ethnography, whether travel accounts, imaginative tales or more 'reliable' new ethnography based on direct observation in late-imperial China.[46] Although *Luochong Lu*, mentioned above as a popular work in the late imperial period, has traditionally been assumed to be entirely fictional because of its incorporation of references from the *Shanhai Jing*, He Yuming has emphasised its relevance to diplomacy during the Ming dynasty.[47] Earlier, I noted that the *Shanghai Jing* and Miao albums have traditionally been viewed very differently: the former as fiction and the latter reality. Thus one has to be cautious when linking the fictional illustrations with popular culture, while associating those based on direct observations with 'truth', since the lines between imagination and reality, copy and directly observed product, were often blurred.

Other intriguing issues are to what extent albums with a preface claiming their authenticity, such as the aforementioned *Diansheng Yixi Yinan Yiren Tushuo* and *Qiannan Miaoman Tushuo*, differed from commercial Miao albums. And which, if any, Miao albums housed in the various modern libraries and museums are copies of Mr. Zhang's work made by professional painters, as mentioned by Gui Fu and his guest. Comparing albums with prefaces claiming authenticity with anonymous albums reveals substantial similarities between the albums' composition, content, and scenes selected for representation. For example, Figure 4. 1, an image from *Qiansheng Miaotu,* in the collection of the Pitt Rivers Museum, an unsigned album without a preface depicting

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[46] Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光, "Shanhai jing, zhigong tu he luxingji zhong de yiyujiyi-Lima Dou laihua qianhou zhongguoren guanyu yiyu de zhishi ziyuan jiqi bianhua 山海經, 職貢圖和旅行記中的異域記憶-利瑪竇來華前後中國人關於異域的知識資源及其變化 (The Memory of Foreign Land in the Classic of Mountains and Seas, Tributary Illustrations and Travel Accounts - Sources by Chinese pertaining to the Alien and their transformation before and after the Visit of Matteo Ricci)", in *Mingqing Wenxue yu Sixiang zhong zhi Zhuti Yishi yu Shehui* 明清文學與思想中之主體意識與社會, eds., Zhong Caijun 鐘彩鈞 and Yang Jinlong 楊晉龍 (Taipei: Zhongyanyuan Wenzhesuo, 2004), 347-70.

[47] He, *Home and the World*, 227-30.

eighty-two ethnic groups, depicts a picnic scene of a Miao group, with bowls of food on the ground between them. On the left, an old man in a blue robe is lying over the arm of a young Miao woman who gives him an alcoholic drink from a horn cup. Three other figures, one woman behind them and two men on the right, all look at the drinking couple, while two other women stand talking separately in the foreground. The group of Black Miao in Figure 4. 2, taken from *Qinannan Miaoman Tushuo,* is thematically very similar to the Miao of Figure 01. Although the artist included pines trees in the mountain scene, the main part of the image still depicts a group of Miao sitting around bowls of food. A Miao woman feeds an old Miao man from a drinking horn and all the other figures laugh at them. Gui Fu has even enlarged the horn cup held by the lady standing at the right, an aspect which highlights the exoticism of the material culture; the later image divided the figures into three groups, each a pair containing a man and a woman, which appeals further to the viewers' imaginations towards their marriage customs.

Figure 4. 1, Anonymous, "Qingjiang Heimiao 清江黑苗," in an album of *Qiansheng Miaotu* 黔省苗圖, undated, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

Figure 4. 2, Gui Fu, "Qingjiang Heimiao 清江黑苗," in an album of *Qiannan Miaoman Tushuo* 黔南苗蠻圖說, 19th century, Library of Zhongyang Minzu Daxue, Beijing.

The content and composition of the images in Gui Fu's Miao album undermines his claims in the album's preface about its authenticity. It offers a good example of the importance of taking images as sources in the study of history of empire, a discipline long dominated by texts, as Christopher Pinney observes: "the discursive field of colonial and post colonial studies that has for long been dominated by the hegemony of the word and the tyranny of the texual archive."[48] This also complicates our understanding of the

[48] Christopher Pinney, *The Coming of Photography in India* (London: British Library, 2008), 5.

relationship between word and image.[49] The Miao albums indicate that images can tell a different story to that conveyed in words, and this section has demonstrated the high value of images for historical analysis, a discipline traditionally dominated by text.

Resurrection in Republican China: collection, preservation, reproduction and new styles

When photography became one of the most popular and trusted media for representing the ethnic minorities in the southwest, Miao albums did not disappear immediately. Instead, some new-style Miao albums were produced, influenced by anthropometric photography. Several factors might have contributed to the reproduction of Miao albums, especially the influence of Western collections on Miao albums from the late nineteenth century onwards and the rise of museums, alongside, possibly, the limited visual appeal of photography in black and white compared against the rather colourful images in the Miao albums. This might also reflect the power of the challenges to gender conventions embedded in Miao albums to stimulate the viewer's imagination. Images such as those of female government officials, of sexually charged dancing and of love-making would be very difficult for photographers to catch or to negotiate and pose. Thus the albums' resurrection in Republican China is also an extension of their pleasure function, readapted into the modern concept of nation construction.

Among the collections of Miao albums in the library of the Zhongyang Minzu Daxue, there is one unique album, titled *Xunge Tu* 旬格圖 (*Illustrations of Xunge*), which was commissioned by the Republican President Cao Kun 曹錕 (1862-1938) and shows the clear production date *Minguo Shiyou Ernian* 民國十有二年 (1923). The first ten album leaves of the first volume were said to be copies of images from the Qing-era *Guizhou Tongzhi*. Unlike Ming and Qing Miao albums, however, which depicted groups of people including both men and women, old and young, each image in *Xunge Tu* portrays only one figure in much closer focus. Figure 4. 3, for example, depicted the single figure of a Caijia Miao woman. She is holding a hoe and dragging an ox, turning her back towards the viewer, who can see the side of her face. Compared to the Miao albums from the Qing

[49] Mitchell, *The Language of Images*, 3.

dynasty, the single figure in this image and the back view presented are the most striking characteristics.

Figure 4. 3, "Caijia Miao 蔡家苗," in an album of *Xunge Tu* 旬格圖, 1923, Library of Zhongyang Minzu Daxue, Beijing.

An edition of *Guizhou Tongzhi* edited during the 11th year of the Kangxi reign (1672), includes images of ethnic minorities likely to relate to this album. Unfortunately, due to issues pertaining to the accessibility of this source, the "Caijia Miao" image from *Guizhou Tongzhi* cannot be obtained at the moment. However, a depiction of the Caijia Miao in the

album *Manliao Tushuo* (Figure 4. 4) might be an alternative for tracing what the original images might have looked like. The Caijia Miao depiction in Figure 03 shows more concern with costume detail than do the images in Figure 04. Furthermore, the Caijia Miao subject of Figure 03 also turns her back toward the viewer.

Figure 4. 4, Gao Luolian, "Caijia Zi 蔡家子," in an album of *Manliao Tushuo* (of 82 album leaves), Bodleian library, Oxford.

The Caijia Miao image in *Xunge Tu* in fact resembles Republican-era photographs of Miao in several respects. In the previous chapter on the representation of body and clothing I discussed in great detail the influence of anthropometry on photographic style.

The key characteristics, including portrayal of single figures and the concern to show back views and depict splendid festival costumes, were all influenced by modern photography. Therefore, when the Miao album met photography, it borrowed elements as part of its own innovation and development. This style, portraying individual figures rather than groups, also appeared in several other albums. We can conclude that these were products of the particular scientific, political and artistic movements of Republican China.

In an album from the collection of the library of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, a lithograph print from the Republican era, only one figure is depicted on each page (Figure 4. 5). This copy comes with a note reading "Minguo Shiying" (Republican-era lithograph). The Duanqun Miao woman in Figure 05 also resembles the Duanqun Miao images discussed in Chapter two, in particular the figure in the album of *Manliao Tushuo* held at the Pitt Rivers Museum (Figure 02 of chapter two). Five figures are depicted in the *Manliao Tushuo* image, while *Miaoman Tu* shows only a single Duanqun Miao woman. The single figure in Figure 05 wears a short skirt, holding a basket of grass on the back; her head is turned to look back. Her gestures probably indicate that she might be taken from the Miao women in the middle foreground of *Manliao Tushuo*, as they are very similar to one another.

Figure 4. 5, Anonymous, “Duanqun Miao 短裙苗,” lithography, in an album of *Miaoman Tu* 苗蠻圖, undated, Library of Chinese Academy of Social Sciencess, Beijing.

Moreover, the album of *Miaoman Tushuo* 苗蠻圖說 in the rare books collection of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciencess, is another featuring a single figure in each leaf, such as the image of a Black Luoluo subject (Figure 4. 6). The single figure holding a bow and riding a horse resembles the Luoluo on horseback in the middle of Figure 4. 7, an album leaf of *Manliao Tushuo* held in the Bodleian library. Furthermore, a *Miaoman Tu* 苗蠻圖 in the collection of the National Diet Library in Tokyo provides another wonderful example showing the resonance between the new style of album with its individual

figures and the older albums of the Ming and Qing style (Figure 08). What is unique about this album is its presentation of two images to represent each group. The image on the left portrays an individual figure while the one on the right depicts a group of Miao; the image on the left is an enlarged version of one figure, isolated from, but also present in, the image on the right.

Figure 4. 6, Anonymous, "Hei Luoluo 黑玀玀," in an album of *Miaoman Tushuo* 苗蠻圖說, undated, Library of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciencess, Beijing.

Figure 4. 7, Gao Luolian, "Luoluo 玀羅," in *Manliao Tushuo* 蠻獠圖說 (of an album of 82 entries), Bodleian library, Oxford.

Figure 4. 8, Anonymous, "Hei Luoluo 黑玀羅," in an album of *Miaoman Tu* 苗蠻圖, National Diet Library Digital collection, Tokyo, Japan. Available at: http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2575072?tocOpened=1 [18, May, 2017].

The Miao albums depicting single figures and showing multiple sides and costume details were influenced by anthropometric photography introduced from Europe and America, and also the collection, preservation and exhibition of 'primitive' material culture, as discussed in detail in Chapter three. The point here is to emphasise that these albums depicting single figures were made in the first half of the twentieth century, and that this new-style Miao album emerged alongside and through the modern engagement with ethnography and anthropometry and the new understanding of costume as valuable cultural heritage.

The reproduction of Miao albums in Republican China was also ascribed to the great interest in and admiration for the artistic and scientific value of the albums among Republican-era intellectuals. The collection of Miao albums by several institutions stimulated their imitation and innovations in album production in the 20th century. In a 1933 journal article Liu Xian 劉鹹, who was an anthropology graduate of the University of Oxford, claimed that Miao albums provided a significant scientific ethnographic source for pre-modern China.[50] Liu stressed the artistic and scientific value of Miao albums, claiming that:

> On the one hand, Miao albums have value as art, thus in our country in the old days many painters liked to collect them; on the other hand, they hold scientific value, and western anthropologists and academic institutions compete ever more fiercely to collect them.
>
> 苗圖一書,一方面有藝術上之價值,故吾國舊時書畫家多喜收藏之,一方面有科學價值,西洋人種學者及學術機關更爭先搜羅.[51]

Liu Xian stressed the albums' scientific value to the Western anthropologist, and much of his article focused on the collection of Miao albums in Europe. Another Republican

[50] Liu Xian 劉鹹, "Miaotu kaolue (Research on Miao Albums)," *Shandong Daxue Kexue Congkan* 山東大學科學叢刊, 2 (1933): 351-365.
[51] Ibid, 359.

anthropologist, Lin Yaohua, a Harvard graduate, also highlighted the value of Miao albums in his study of the Miao in Guizhou.[52] Both Liu and Lin, as anthropologists trained abroad, suggest that the interest shown by Republican scholars in the Miao albums resulted from overseas influence, through anthropological methodology and scholarly attitudes towards the works.

Republican scholars' focus on Miao albums was certainly evident in their enthusiasm for assembling album collections. In the preface to his *Yingyin Miaoman Tuji* 影印苗蠻圖集 (*A Collection of Reprinted Miao Albums*), the Republican-era anthropologist Rui Yifu 芮逸夫 (1898-1994) wrote that:

> More than forty years ago, when I compiled the catalogue for the National Tsinghua University in Beiping, I saw several of them; in Liuli Chang's bookshop, I also saw several of them. Well, they were expensive, hence I could not buy any. During the war with Japan, when I was in Guizhou performing research on the Miao and Yi, I often visited the locals in the counties; when discussing matters relating to the Miao and Yi, I always mentioned *Miaotu* (Miao albums) or *Bai Miaotu* (hundreds of Miao albums). Although I sought them from a number of people; nothing was found.
> 四十餘年前，余在北平國立清華大學圖書館的絲編目時，曾獲見如幹種;在琉璃廠書肆中亦觀見如幹種. 惜以索價頗昂，無力購買. 抗日戰爭期間，餘在貴州調查苗，夷諸族時，常訪晤各縣地方人士；與談苗，夷事，輒提及所謂苗圖或百苗圖. 然經多方訪求，一無所獲.[53]

Rui's introduction to the Miao albums collected by Academic Sinica is indeed informative. Firstly, it uncovers his eagerness to collect Miao albums, and how he conducted research on the albums in Guizhou. Rui's position at Academia Sinica suggests that the institution also had a particular interest in collecting the Miao albums. Rui also mentions that he saw several of them in the libraries of Tsing-hua University. Accordingly,

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[52] Lin Yaohua, "The Miao-Man Peoples of Kweichow," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 5, 3-4 (1941): 261-345.
[53] Rui, ed., *Miaoman Tuji,* 5.

the Miao albums were collected by Republican libraries and national academic institutions. His testimony suggests that both Chinese academic institutions and anthropologists became the new collectors of Miao albums.

It seems odd that the Republican scholars valued these works of pre-modern ethnography as in most cases they were criticised for being "unscientific", as was so vividly expressed by Yang Chengzhi in the introduction to this dissertation. This value can be ascribed to the influence of the Europeans and Americans collecting and preserving Miao albums. These botanists, sinologists, anthropologists, missionaries, diplomats and art dealers all contributed to the collection of Miao albums in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. After contacting the curators of various institutions which collected Miao albums, a table of extant examples is presented as an appendix to this thesis. Divided into four columns, the data includes the current holding institution, name of the album, original collector and their profession, and date of collection. There are more than one hundred extant albums world-wide, but only a few contain information about collectors or the dates of their acquisition and collection. The collection of Miao albums among European museums and libraries constituted the engagement of Empire with overseas material cultures, their exhibition and the consequent dissemination of imperial ideologies, as discussed in chapter three. Meanwhile, the Republican-era collection of Miao albums was conducted under the influence of Western museology and anthropology.

Those politicians who collected and commissioned Miao albums inherited some of the legacy of their imperial purposes. As noted above, President Cao Kun appointed professional artists to produce a Miao album, writing in a preface:

> I collected several kinds of Miao album, which depict the disposition, appearance, custom and local products of the Miao. It is said that more than half reside in Yunnan and Guizhou, but they also live in Jinchu, Bashu and Liangyue. Seeking out their different and eccentric characteristics, these were represented through paper and pen. All that have been seen are represented after the fashion of the *Imperial Tributary Illustration*. Thus I appointed artists to repaint this and explain with more annotation… …The albums have now been made. The purpose is to better manage

the Miao. It is named *Xunge Tu*. As for me, I proclaim this for future viewers.

余故藏有諸苗圖, 其狀苗之性情體貌習尚土物, 泰半據之滇黔, 聞亦及夫荊楚巴蜀以至兩粵, 網羅殊詭, 照耀豪素, 泛覽所及, 如陳職貢, 因命工重摹, 更益箋註, 博異聞焉……圖既成用, 有虞格苗之議, 題曰旬格圖,並為之敘, 以詔後之觀者.[54]

Cao explained that his principal reason for reproducing the Miao albums was to ensure better control and management of the non-Han peoples in the southern provinces, who occupied large territories. Cao's preface and stated intent to remake the Miao albums was similar to other prefaces written by Qing government officials. In this context, the Miao albums were recreated as both cultural relics and useful publications. To Cao, the symbolic meaning of remaking the Miao albums was to recognise the various non-Han in the south, claiming them for China. It thus conveyed the ruler's ambition to integrate the southern territories into the map of China. Bringing together Liu Xian's account of conceiving the Miao albums as important ethnographic scientific sources, Rui Yifu's experience of collecting Miao albums, and the re-materialised new-style Miao albums, including *Xunge Tu* commissioned by Cao Kun, in Republican China the Miao albums were preserved and recreated for the purpose of nation-building; another good example of the political use of ethnography in China.

Beyond identity: Commercial ethnographic photography

In her aforementioned monograph, Deborah Poole has focused on the commercialised photography of Andean peoples, and reminds us some photography were commodities, a dimension often ignored in visual studies. In the case of China, some photographs were taken of the ethnic minorities in the southwest for archival preservation, in particular for the collections of Academia Sinica and some university anthropology departments; others were used as illustrations in popular commercial newspapers and

[54] Cao Kun 曹錕, *Preface to Xunge Tu* 旬格圖 (*Illustrations of Xunge*), 1923, Library of Zhongyang Minzu Daxue, Beijing.

periodicals, made into photograph albums or postcards.[55] Some photographs of non-Han subjects were published in journals specialising in anthropology and frontier affairs, news and research. These include *Academic Journals of Academia Sinica and Zhongshan University* (國立中山大學語言歷史學研究所週刊), *Xinya Xiya* 新亞細亞, *Mengzang Yuebao* 蒙藏月報, *Zhongguo Bianjiang* 中國邊疆, and *Bianshi Yanjiu* 邊事研究. Meanwhile, many of the photographs of non-Han peoples in the southwest discussed in the previous chapters are taken from popular pictorial periodicals in Republican China including *Liangyou Huabao, Zhonghua Huabao* and *Tuhua Shibao,* to name three of the most commercially successful examples. [56] These images of non-Han subjects are best understood within the context of the metropolitan culture of Shanghai in the 1930s and 1940s.

Ou-fan Lee's monograph on the urban culture of Shanghai, in which he outlines a cultural matrix of modernity reflected in print culture such as textbooks, pictorial journals, advertisements, calendars, posters, cinematic and literary modernism, has been influential in the exploration of Shanghai's cultural history.[57] From the perspective of the daily lives of ordinary people, the commercial proliferation of new technologies of print and new urban popular literatures, several scholars, such as Hanchao Lu, Wen-Hsin Yeh, Christopher Reed and Perry Link have further enriched our knowledge of the cultural and social lives of Shanghai in the Republican era [58] Among the studies on visual culture in Shanghai, several have recognised the popularity of commercial *huabao* 畫報 pictorial periodicals and *xiaobao* 小報 small-format periodicals, mainly for entertainment and

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[55] Clare Harris, *Photography and Tibet* (London: Reaktion Books 2016). 36-7; 43; 46.
[56] Zhou Licheng 周利成, ed., *Zhongguo Lao Huabao: Shanghai Lao Huabao* 中國老畫報:上海老畫報 (*Old Pictorial Periodicals in China: Shanghai*) (Tianjin: Tianjin Guji Cubanshe, 2011), 31; 60-66.
[57] Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 1999).
[58] Hanchao Lu, *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century* (Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press, 1999); Wen-Hsin Yeh, *Shanghai Splendor: Economic Sentiments and the Making of Modern China, 1843-1949* (Berkeley, Calif. ; London : University of California Press, 2007); Christopher Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2004); Perry Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies : Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Cities* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1981).

issued every three days.[59] For example, Ou-fan Lee claims that *Liangyou Huabao* was central to understanding the modern culture of Shanghai;[60] and Wu Guozhong further developed Lee's argument by discussing the great influence of *Liangyou Huabao* to the social and cultural life of Shanghai.[61] As one dimension of Republican-era visual culture, the images of non-Han subjects in the southwest published in the commercial periodicals must have reached a wide readership in Shanghai for leisure, curiosity, and entertainment.

Importantly, in addition to those ethnographic photographs of non-Han people taken in the field, this dissertation can also reveal that ethnic minority costumes were worn by Han women, primarily film actresses, whose photographs were taken in studios, something which best exemplifies the commercial use of photographs of ethnic minorities. In Figure 4. 9, a photograph of a woman in non-Han costume, she wears head coiffures, a sash tied near her waist, and with her bare feet exposed. She sits on a stone, with her head turned towards the viewer. An accompanying annotation, in both Chinese and English, reads: "*Guangxi Miaoyao Guinü, Shizhe wei Konxiuyun Nüshi* 廣西苗瑤貴女, 飾者為孔秀雲女士 (An Aristocratic Girl of the Guangxi Miaoyao; Miss Kong Xiuyun in Costume), and, in English, "Miss Kong dressed as tribe girl [sic] of Kwangsi".[62] The word *Shi* 飾 (dressed up as/acting the part of) suggests that Miss Kong, the subject of the photograph, is not a real Miao or Yao, but instead probably a Han Chinese who wore the costume of the Guangxi Miao and Yao. In fact, In *Tuhua Shibao*, there is another image of Kong Xiuyun in modern dress. In the middle top image in Figure 4. 10, Miss Kong is seen sitting on the ground with her legs together towards the camera. Information on Miss Kong's background and profession needs further investigation, but one thing is certain, she was not a Miao or Yao from the southwest of China.

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[59] Li Nan 李楠, *Wanqing, Minguo Shiqi Shanghai Xiaobao Yanjiu Yizhong Zonghe de Wenhua, Wenxue Kaocha* 晚清民国时期上海小报研究: 一种综合的文化文学考察 (*Research on the Small Newspapers of Shanghai in Late Qing and Republican China: A Survey on both Culture and Literature*) (Beijing: Renmin Wenxue Chubanshe, 2005), 335-68.

[60] Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 64-67.

[61] Wu Guozhong 吴果中, *Liangyou Huabao yu Shanghai Dushi Wenhua* 良友画报与上海都市文化 (*Liangyou Pictorial Periodical and the Modern Culture of Shanghai*) (Changsha: Hunan Shifan Daxue Chubanshe, 2007), 49-51.

[62] Anonymous, "Guangxi Miaoyao Guinü," 1.

Figure 4. 9, Photograph of "Guangxi Miaoyao Guinü, Shizhe wei Konxiuyun Nüshi 廣西苗瑤貴女, 飾者為孔秀雲女士 (An Aristocratic Girl of the Guangxi Miaoyao; Miss Kong Xiuyun in Costume)," *Tuhua Shibao* 圖畫時報, (1933): 1. (The left figure is the enlarged image of one of the images in the right figure)

Figure 4. 10, Min Jueshe 民覺社, Photographs of women, *Tuhua Shibao* 圖畫時報, 1003 (1934): 1.

In Chapter three, when discussing the representation of non-Han clothing, I have observed that the photographs of non-Han festival costumes were placed together with other photographs of fashionable urban ladies. This image of Miss Kong in Miao costume was in the same page as other photographs of Han women wearing *Qipao*, nurse's white gowns, servant's clothes, and sports clothes as seen in the big cities. The images of a Miao man playing a flute for *Tiaoyue* discussed in chapter two also shared the same page with

photography of a naked woman sitting on a beach and female students in the snow (Figure 4. 11). This suggest that the reader and viewers of these photographs of non-Han subjects were definitely the urban Han Chinese and they constituted an element of commercial metropolitan visual culture.

Figure 4. 11, Anonymous, Photographs of women, ethnic minorities and students, *Tuhua Shibao* 圖畫時報, 952 (1933): 2.

The poster *Miaonü de Modengwu* 苗女的摩登舞 (*The Modern Dance of a Miao Girl*) in Figure 4. 12, for the film *Yaoshan Yanshi* 瑤山豔史 (*The Erotic History of Yao Mountain*), comprises three images. The portrait at right bottom names the female actress Xu Manli 許曼麗.[63] In the large image in the centre, Xu is dancing, wearing a short dress

[63] Anonymous, "Miaonü de Modeng Wu," 1.

drawing attention to the breast and exposing her shoulders, arms and legs. At the bottom of the image, the annotation tells us that Xu was "*Gewu Yuetuan de Yiduo Xianhua* 歌壇的一朵鮮花 (A Fresh Flower in the Dance and Music club)." In the small image on the left, Xu wears Miao girls costume, with the caption "*Yaoshan Meinü de Zhuangshu* 瑤山美女的裝束 (the costume of the Yaoshan beauty)." Apparently, the costumes of ethnic minorities were worn by Han Chinese and the images of ethnic minorities were commercialised in films. The words *Xianhua* 鮮花, and *Meinü* 美女 and the dresses worn by the actress all suggest the sexualisation and eroticisation of ethnic minority women, as discussed in Chapter two of this dissertation.

Figure 4. 12, Anonymous, Photograph of "Miaonü de Modeng Wu 苗女的摩登舞 (The Modern Dance of Miao Girl)," *Xiandai Dianying* 現代電影, 6 (1933): 1.

Xu, the actress in the poster, played a Yao girl, named Mengli 孟麗 in the film *Yaoshan Yanshi*, which relates love stories featuring the local Yao and young Han Chinese sent to Yaoshan to educate the ethnic minorities. Xu's character fell in love with a Han Chinese boy, but was sexually assaulted by another Han Chinese boy. The film ends happily with the marriage of a Han Chinese girl to a Yao boy. The film achieved great commercial success and awards from the Republican government because it encouraged young Han Chinese to settle and work in the borderlands. In this film, we see the convergence of the mission to educate the non-Han populace, sexual encounters with the non-Han and romantic love stories of free choice. It thus exemplifies the conjunction of imperialism, vision, and commerce.

In another image (Figure 4. 13), with the title "*Kunming Fuxiaomei de Miaozhuang* 昆明傅小妹的苗裝 (The Miao costume of Little Sister Fu in Kunming)", a girl stands on a carpet with a bunch of flowers.[64] The background scenery, featuring a lake, an exaggeratedly large moon and willows, suggests that this is a studio photograph taken against a painted backdrop. The accompanying text tells us that:

> Their clothing fits the modern requirements of healthy beauty and comfort. This type of outfit worn by Fu Xiaomei is Miao clothing from the vicinity of Kunming. Although they have been assimilated by the Han, it still retains some taste. In a sentence: that's the locus of innocence, simplicity and aesthetic appreciation.
>
> 他們的服裝正符合于現代的健美舒適的要求. 傅小妹這一種裝束是昆明附近的苗人的裝束, 雖已受到漢人的許多同化, 任然另有風味, 一句話: 那是天真, 質樸, 愛美的結晶.[65]

This text relates that Fu Xiaomei is a Miao from near Kunming, making this is a photograph of a Miao subject taken in a studio. Was this a photo belonging to Fu Xiaomei personally or a product offered for sale at the studio? How did the writer obtain this photo

[64] Anonymous, "Miaozhuang: Kunming Fu Xiaomei de Miaozhuang," 31.
[65] Ibid, 31.

of Fu Xiaomei? Did he know her personally? Was this a photograph he bought from a studio? The current sources are insufficient to answer these questions, but this image clearly indicates that, alongside those taken in the field, photographs of non-Han subjects were also produced in studios.

Figure 4. 13, Photograph of "Miaozhuang: Kunming Fu Xiaomei de Miaozhuang 苗裝:昆明傅小妹的苗裝 (Miao Cloth: The Miao Clothing of Little Sister Fu in Kunming)," *Yiwen Huabao* 藝文畫報, 1, 11 (1947): 31.

Although this section considers the commercial dimension of ethnographic photography in Republican China, it is crucial to remember its political context, which

parallels the historiography of reading imperial images in the previous section. The popularity of the images of non-Han subjects during wartime was inseparable from the geographic importance of the borderlands, as the principal institutions and universities moved westward, and from the construction of nationhood in modern China, as has been noted by Gu Zheng in his discussion of Zhuang Xueben's photographs in *Liangyou huabao*.[66] This argument is strengthened by the publication of some photographic images in popular periodicals by researchers and anthropologists, for example the expeditions and photographs from the 1929 Academia Sinica Guangxi Kexue Kaochatuan 中央研究院廣西科學考察 expedition were published in *Tuhua shibao*.[67] Although not so popular, popular periodicals also printed some photographs showing Han Chinese officers persuading ethnic minorities to contribute to the anti-Japanese war.[68]

Concluding Remarks

By both zooming in and zooming out of the Miao albums, this paper enlarges upon previous understandings of Miao albums. Bringing the pleasure dimension to the fore has allowed this paper to pose some basic questions about the use and circulation of Miao albums and their pleasurable use that have never been fully addressed, by more fully examining their makers, consumers, and the production process, in light of recent scholarship. Although this paper has some disagreements on the interpretations of the function of Miao albums with Hostetler's research, overall, in the same vein as Hostetler, it places China as an empire in parallel to its European contemporaries and this paper has highlighted the popularisation of China's imperial images. Following Teng's appealing of

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[66] Gu Zheng 顧錚, "Chongxin Dingyi "Guojia"-Cong Zhuang Xueben zai Liangyou Huabao Shang de Zuoping Shuoqi 重新定義"國家"-從莊學本在《良友》畫報上的作品說起 (Redefining the Nation: Discussion from the Works of Zhuang Xueben in the *Liangyou* Pictorial Periodical)," in *Guzheng Sheying Lunwen Ji* 顧錚攝影文論集 (Shanghai: Shanghai Wenhau Chubanshe, 2012), 90-98.

[67] Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Guangxi Kexue Kaochatuan 中央研究院廣西科學調查團, "Guangxi Miaoyao Dongzhuang Zhu Turen Yipie 廣西苗猺狪獞諸土人一瞥 (A Glimpse of all the Indigeneous People in Guangxi)," *Tuhua Shibao* 圖畫時報, 540 (1929): 1.

[68] "Qianjing Zhong de Guiyang 前進中之貴陽 (Guiyang in Progress)," *Liangyou* 良友, 142 (1939): 23; "Quanmin Tuanjie Yuru 全民團結禦侮 (All the Peoples Unite Together to Defend Against Humiliation)," *Liangyou* 良友, 131 (1937): 22.

the essentialness to explore imperialism from cultural aspects, this paper links the production of Miao albums to late imperial popular culture.

Apart from government officials, professional artists also participated actively in the making of Miao albums, and the practice of copying was widespread. There was a rhetorical hierarchy of expectations about how Miao albums should be viewed-some government officials wished only to communicate the value of ruling the non-Han, and did not want their Miao albums to be viewed for enjoyment. Yet, as this article has indicated, in practice the albums might be viewed in ways that their creators would not admit to facilitating. Some viewers, in particular the non-official class, may have only read the Miao albums for pleasure, but this did not weaken their role as imperial images, since the ways in which visual pleasure was achieved was often bound up with imperial orders related to gender, morality, rites and sexual regulations.

In his influential and powerful work, Steven Shapin reflected on the ways in which trust, truth and moral order were constructed in seventeenth-century England,[69] and this paper has sought to bring similar reflections to the production of ethnographic knowledge in late imperial China. The omission of the pleasure dimension of the Miao albums in existing historiography is indicative of the way in which ethnographic truth and imperial regimes in late imperial China have been conceptualised. The narrative of ethnographic truth is frequently set in a binary relationship with the pleasure of looking. Disdaining the pursuit of the curious and the exotic was a powerful way in which some producers claimed the authenticity of their Miao albums. It was not only in imperialism that pleasure is also set as the binary opposite to art, as Jonathan Hay observes: "Pleasure, as I have slowly come to understand, is another blind spot in this case of modern art history's system of knowledge. Only by bracketing pleasure can art history inscribe art within the network of binaries-subject-object, centre-periphery, genuine-fake, among others-that continue to define the modern discipline. It is impossible to account for the role of pleasure in art without undoing these binaries, so it is entirely logical that pleasure should become a subject itself at a moment when the epistemology of art history as a

[69] Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

discipline is, finally, being radically reconsidered".[70]

As Hay proposes, "pleasure should become a subject itself", and this chapter seeks a reinterpretation of Chinese imperial imagery by taking pleasure seriously, by penetrating the ways through which ethnographic knowledge was generated, by decentralising the political function of the Miao albums, and by complicating the binary relationship between imperial tools and pleasure. By shining a spotlight on the proliferation of popular ethnography, and emphasising the importance of copying, this chapter has sought to resituate Miao albums within late imperial Chinese social and cultural history. Such a reinterpretation might also prove fruitful with regard to other imperial images in China, including the tributary illustrations, as well as modern ethnographic photography produced in Republican China and in the PRC.

By drawing on studies of imperial engagement with popular culture in the domain of leisure and recreation, a discipline mainly generated from European, particularly British, examples, this paper has revealed that Chinese imperial images shared several similarities with their European counterparts in terms of their popularity, commercialization and the engagement of growing urban audiences. Yet it is crucial, in the case of late imperial China, to realise how the power of imperial imagery was generated by a tension between politics and popular entertainment, amateur and professional artists, copying and direct observation, and truth and imagination.

Applying the historiographical methodology from our study of Miao albums to the visual cultures of the non-Han subject in Republican China highlights both the political importance and the pleasure dimension of non-Han imagery. The reproduction of new-style Miao albums influenced by anthropometric photography in Republican China is the extension of their functions as imperial tool and for pleasurable consumption, re-adopted in a new context of nation and science in the first half of the twentieth century.

The making of ethnographic photography in modern China was not confined to anthropologists and academics, instead reaching a wide range of audiences in major urban centres. As a tentative first step, this chapter has examined a specific genre of non-

[70] Hay, *Sensuous Surfaces,* 15.

Han photography in which Han Chinese models and film actresses wear the costumes of ethnic minority women alongside photographs of non-Han subjects taken in studios rather than in the field. These photographs were strongly tied to the visual economy of ethnicity in Republican China.

Responding to the questions asked at the start of the chapter, the popularity of images alluding to gender and sexuality are mutually constituted with the images' commodification and pleasurable function. Challenging the historiography of the binary separation of pleasure and imperial tools, this chapter places the albums at the convergence of gender, sexuality, visual pleasure and the dissemination of political ideologies.

Conclusion

Probing the translation of ethnic minority lives into images, the fascinating Miao albums and modern ethnographic photography of non-Han peoples in the southwest have enabled this thesis to examine the mutual constitutions of image, gender and empire. Uncovering how this process selectively visualised and textualised the customs and daily lives of non-Han peoples, it highlights the conventions of Han Chinese rites, gender ideals and morality in the production of ethnography through the late imperial and modern periods. The different ways of seeing the non-Han in different historical epochs best demonstrate the "art" of representation - as the Han Chinese cultural system changed, ways of representing the non-Han were transformed correspondingly.

In my study of the visual representation of the frontier, I have benefited substantially from the theoretical and methodological exploration of representation through images by art historians, art critics and historians, as has been discussed in the introduction, including the concepts of "mental image", "pictorial turn" and "photography complex", through which they stress the conventions and systems of culture behind images and the intricate relationships between image-making and agency. There are indeed several practical ways of wrestling with "representation", and I argue that some aspects of the processes of producing image and ethnographic knowledge, and the circulation of visual materiality, demand substantial investigation. To put it in another way, before asking the questions of how imaginative, or representative, an ethnographic image is, it is crucial to consider a cluster of questions pertaining to image and knowledge production. These include, for example, origins and sources, how the ethnographic knowledge informing their production and reception was circulated, and who their viewers, readers, and audiences were. We can thus better understand how exactly imperial visual regimes were constituted and how imperial ideologies were conveyed through representation.

As the case of late imperial ethnography tells us, the visualisation and textualisation of the non-Han subject in the southwest of China took many forms, including travel accounts, albums, official records, novels, poems, and dramas. Not all of these were based on direct observation, and many were largely taken from existing ethnographic works, or (as in the case of many 'bamboo branch poems') from authors' imaginative responses to reading those works. The practice of copying was also prevalent in the making of Miao albums, their producers and viewers extending well beyond the government officials

with whom they had previously been exclusively associated. Moreover, I have also found several photographs of non-Han subjects taken for commercial use and even some images in which Han Chinese women were posed in non-Han costumes. The pleasurable dimension of their commodification and consumption is an aspect largely ignored in previous studies, but this dissertation has demonstrated its significance in visual analysis. In order to better understand how imperial ideologies were actualised, how representation and meanings were produced, and how the power of representation was achieved, it is essential to consider the origin, circulation and interactions of the sources, as well as their producers, audience and functions.

Furthermore, we cannot understand the visualisation of ethnic minorities without situating them in the social and cultural order of Han Chinese society. There are a variety of conventions in Miao albums and this thesis has demonstrated gender's power as a cultural tool in Chinese ethnography's visual and textual processes of knowledge production. Shedding light on a spectrum of gender discourses, including femininity, masculinity, sexuality, love, body and clothing, it has examined how non-Han subjects were defined, judged, despised, mocked and admired. Bearing in mind the dynamics of gender, it challenges traditional interpretive frameworks of gender in power relationships by probing the metaphor of masculinity in representations of non-Han women.

Gender can be a more useful category for historical analysis when it is studied in conjunction with other categories, such as ethnicity and class. In the case of the Miao albums, the power of gender in representation is constructed through intersection with social class, and this is also one of the sources through which its images derive their power. The gendered construction of social hierarchy in Han Chinese culture was refashioned in an ethnographic context. The gendered ideal division of labour and space among Han Chinese was to some degree a privilege of class, and could be erased among the destitute. Those metaphors associated with the lower classes among Han Chinese can be found in the narratives of non-Han life in the southwest of China. Imagine how viewers in late imperial China responded to images in Miao albums, including the depiction of exposed feet and sometimes completely naked bodies of female subjects, alongside the poorly and simply dressed men. These symbolic elements implied a social order contrasting strongly with the ideals informing the well-off class involved in the albums' production and consumption. The same gender structure functioned efficiently in both in

a class and an ethnographic context. The social hierarchy embodied through gender is central to an understanding of the superiority of the Han Chinese in their imagined blueprint of world order. When turning to Republican China, alongside class, modernity and urban culture were other factors which combined with gender to identify non-Han alterity in the southwest.

When turning to Republican China, by combining history, Western influence, gender discourses and nationalism, the non-Han were revisualised and reinterpreted in particularly creative and compelling ways. These transformed representations continued to symbolise the borderland regimes of the modern period in Chinese thinking. The hard-working non-Han women were conceived as China's domestic feminists, in parallel to Western women. In addition to eroticising the non-Han subjects, their *Tiaoyue* marriage custom was contextualised within fashionable discourses pertaining to reorganisation of an idealised sexual order and a form of marriage identified by activists and intellectual reformers as a strategy to make China a stronger nation. The ideology of ethnic classification behind the adoption of anthropometric photography likewise becomes more complicated when considered in the context of Republican China's nation-construction project.

Placing gender at the heart of our analysis also enables this thesis to examine Chinese imperial models, contesting the application of imperial theories generated from European examples to fit the Chinese case. As another work supporting the idea that imperial expansion in late imperial China parallels the European experience, this thesis found that Chinese imperial visual representations of ethnicity manifest several similarities to European imagery. Imperial ideologies were conveyed, circulated and celebrated through visual images; these imperial images were popularised, fashioned and consumed; power relations between the Empire and the colonies were embedded within them. Meanwhile, the unique ways in which gender ideals were constructed through women's space, division of labour, sexual order and strict restriction of widows and virgins, the practice of footbinding, and clothing regulations in imperial Han Chinese culture, all signify a distinctively Chinese cultural trajectory of imperial rule. This symbolic content around rites and gender order localised a Chinese model of imperial engagement.

Furthermore, placing together two different visual media, this thesis has demonstrated some clear transformations. The late imperial texts generally offered

implicit value judgements, describing and depicting behaviour among the ethnic minorities, whilst leaving the reader and viewer to decide whether it was better or worse than their own ways. In this way, they are quite different from the rather pedantic and explicitly judgmental style of the Republican-era texts. What the late imperial authors did was to present supposedly representative "facts", cultural clues that directed readers to draw certain conclusions. Moreover, the gender ideals behind the images were transformed substantially from the late imperial to the Republican period. This study has examined how gender visions in different historical periods could affect the changing languages of images. The “unvirtuous” and “lewd” non-Han women of the late imperial ethnographic images and writings could be reinterpreted as China’s exemplary domestic feminists and serve as models for Han Chinese women to learn from.

When considering the issues regarding the negotiations among imperial legacies of modernity and westernisation, my study also finds that a lot of late imperial visual sources were re-cooked with modern sauces. Modern ethnographic photography did not entirely replace Miao albums, their production continuing and even undergoing innovation by absorbing stylistic elements from anthropometric photography. Some photographic albums also borrowed the Miao albums’ “image on the left and text on the right” format. Moreover, imported European technologies and ideas were often localised through mixing with the connotations of tradition and modernity in modern China.

This dissertation has contributed to demonstrating the energy generated from images for the analysis of history, and, equally importantly, probed the relationship between image and text. Following the publication of Peter Burke’*s Eyewitnessing: the Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*,[1] some historians specialising in China have investigated many wonderful visual materials, and have been asking in what ways images are important for historians, and also exploring the historiography of imagery analysis, including the relationship between text and image. Some historians, like Ge Zhaoguang, highlight the benefit to historians of taking images more seriously and stress that images should not be regarded merely as supplements to text.[2] This dissertation, by making the energy generated from imagery its central enquiry, as discussed in the introduction,

[1] Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: the Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001).

[2] Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光, “*Sixiang Shi Shiye Zhongde Tuxiang* 思想史視野中的圖像 (Images in Intellectual History),” *Zhongguo Shehui Kexue* 中國社會科學, 4 (2002): 74-83.

seeks to lay out a visual grammar of non-Han depiction. Across a number of sections, it has conducted a rigorous and thorough analysis of the visual codes in both Miao albums and ethnographic photography.

The idea that images should not merely supplement texts also relates to their potential, on some occasions, to equal or surpass the functions of the written word, as has clearly been pointed out by Emma Teng in her exploration of the various modes of reading illustrations of Taiwan: "These various images of the Taiwan indigenes reveal that *tu* did not simply function as a supplement to travel writing. Rather, sometimes text and *tu* do rather different things," and "If we wish to understand historical Chinese conceptualizations of race and ethnicity, then, we must analyse the visual record in addition to the textual record."[3] My analysis of Miao albums also finds parallel examples in which ideas of "competing for being eccentric and chasing exoticism" are reflected more directly in image than text, in particular those scenes showing naked female bodies, copulation and sexually charged *Tiaoyue* dancing.

In the context of the late imperial Chinese visual cultural norm of *Zuotu Youwen* 左圖右文 (Illustration on the left and text on the right), the interrelationship between image and accompanying annotation or text and the function of illustrating for text is crucial to consider.[4] Originating in the essay *Tu Pulüe* 图谱略 by the Song-era scholar Zheng Qiao 郑樵 (1104-1162), the ideas of *Zuotu youwen* and *Suoxiang yutu, suoli yushu* 索象於圖, 索理於書 (seeing through image and enlightening through writing) were often quoted by those who tried to rationalise the significance of making illustrations in later ages or scholars interested in exploring the relationship between image and word in imperial China.[5] As Zheng puts it:

> When the Diagram appeared in the [Yellow] River, Heaven and Earth gained their natural image. When the writing appeared in the Luo River, Heaven and Earth gained their natural principle. These two things, emerging from Heaven and Earth to show the sages, formed the necessary basis for the charters of hundreds of

[3] Teng "Texts on the Right and Pictures on the Left," 479.
[4] Yu Xin 餘欣, "Suoxiang Yutu, Suoli Yushu: Xieben Shidai Tuxiang yu Wenben Guanxi Zai Silu 索象於圖, 索理於書: 寫本時代圖像與文本關係再思錄 (Seeing through Image and Enlightening through Written Words: Rethinking the Relationships between Image and Text in the Time of Hand-Writing)," *Fudan Xuebao* 復旦學報, 54, 4 (2012): 61-68.
[5] Zheng Qiao 鄭樵, *Tongzhi Ershilue* 通志二十略 (*Twenty Brief Stories in 'Tongzhi'*), ed., Wang Shumin 王樹民 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1995), 1825.

dynasties, and neither should be abandoned. Image is warp, writing is weft; warp and weft interweave, thus becoming texture (text). Image is flora, writing is fauna; fauna and flora rely on one another and thus create change. Seeing only writing without seeing an image is like hearing the voice without seeing a person's appearance. Seeing only an image without seeing writing is like seeing the appearance of a person without hearing what he says. Images are extremely brief; writing is extremely extensive. One turns to the image for simplicity, and one turns to writing for difficulty

.

河出圖, 天地有自然之象. 洛出書, 天地有自然之理. 天地出此二物以示聖人, 使百代憲章必本於此而不可偏廢者也. 圖, 經也. 書, 緯也. 一經一緯, 相錯而成文. 圖, 植物也. 書, 動物也. 一動一植, 相須而成變化. 見書不見圖, 聞其聲而不見其形; 見圖不見書, 見其人不聞其語. 圖至約也, 書至博也, 即圖而求易, 即書而求難.[6]

Ancient scholars had a key method for learning; they put images on the left side and writing on the right. They looked for the appearance in images while looking for the reason in writing. Therefore, it was easy for them to learn things, and it was also easy for them to put what they had learnt into use, combining the two, like double-checking a tally. Later scholars left images behind for writing, and focused on words and talking. That is why it became hard to learn, and hard to put the knowledge learned into real use. Although they had thousands of books in their minds, when it came to practice in reality, they became confused and did not know what to do.

古之學者為學有要, 置圖于左, 置書於右, 索象於圖, 索理於書, 故人亦易為學, 學亦易為功, 舉而措之, 如執左契. 後之學者離圖即書, 尚辭務說, 故人亦難為學, 學亦難為功, 雖平日胸中有千章萬卷, 及寘之行事之間, 則茫然不知所向.[7]

[6] Han Si, *A Chinese Word on Image: Zheng Qiao (1104—1162) and his Thought on Images* (Goteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2008), 57.
[7] Ibid, 60.

Through ingenious metaphors, Zheng highlights the value of images to the art of learning, and tries to add illustrations to the methodologies of knowledge production dominated by texts. It is, however, crucial to recognise that "image on the left and text on the right" is an idealised vision of knowledge production, while, in practice, these elements might not have been produced either at the same time or by the same author. Studies by several historians of science and technology are remarkable in this respect.[8] In his study of illustrations for animalia and pharmacopeia, Roel Sterckx argues that, in the case of Li Shizhen, it is very doubtful that he saw illustrations as an element essential to the understanding of his work. Added later, they did not form part of the original copy delivered to Nanjing shortly after his death for cutting into woodblock plates.[9] Similarly, Zheng Jinsheng also reveals that, among the extant copies of illustrated *Bencao* (Materia Medica), only nine had the same author and illustrator; for at least thirteen copies, author and illustrator were different; cases exist where many illustrators worked on one book and sometimes images did not even match the text.[10]

The majority of the Miao albums are anonymous, but it is likely they were finished by the same artist if he could do both calligraphy and painting, since the paired texts were relatively short. For most anonymous Miao albums, it seems that more effort was invested in image than text. When some artists made illustrations, they paid little attention to the textual description, as vividly indicated in the case of the Duanqun Miao: the text states that their skirts reached the shin, while a few images depicted their skirts as being extremely short. As a number of albums were made by copying, several albums shared similar styles: texts were the same, while the details of the images varied according to their artists' imagination. The case of the Miao albums offers a wonderful example, not of images supplementing text, but rather of text as supplement to images.

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[8] Bray, Dorofeeva-Lichtmann and Métailie eds., *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China*. Wang Shumin 王淑民 and Luo Weiqian 羅維前 (Vivienne Lo), eds., *Xingxiang Zhongyi: Zhongyi Lishi Tuxiang Yanjiu* 形象中醫: 中醫歷史圖像研究 (*Visualising Chinese Medicine: Research on the Historical Images of Chinese Medicine*) (Beijing: Renmin Weisheng Chubanshe, 2007).

[9] Roel Sterckx, "The Limits of Illustration: Animalia and Pharmacopeia from Guo Pu to Bencao Gangmu," *Asian Medicine*, 4, 2 (2008): 357-94.

[10] Zheng Jinsheng 鄭金生, "Lun Zhongguo Gu Bencao de Tuwen Guanxi 論中國古本草的圖文關係 (Discussion on the Relationships of Image and Text in Ancient *Bencao* of China)," in *Zhongguo Keji Dianji Yanjiu* 中國科技典籍研究, eds., Fu Hansi 傅漢思 (Hans Vegel), Mo Keli 莫克莉, and Gaoxuan 高宣 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang Chubanshe, 2006), 210-20.

Furthermore, this dissertation values images not only because images offer novel and fresh sources that texts did or could not match. More importantly, their value lies in part and on occasion in their tensions with text. One of the biggest contradictions we find is the simultaneous announcement of textual truth and the standardisation of images. While some albums make great claims to the representation of truth based on direct observation, their images still show little difference from other albums. This makes images even more valuable for historians - in this case, without a close examination of imperial imagery, it would be easy to take the Miao albums' representation of ethnographic truth at face value through reliance on their textual claims.

The ways of making ethnographic truth in late imperial China and the reinvention of visual reality in the modern era are fascinating. In terms of future research, I hope to garner more in-depth dialogue on the social and cultural history of truth-claims in China beyond ethnography. In his wonderful monograph, Steven Shapin has set a good example in exploring the history of truth in early modern England by considering the construction of gentility, the tactics of truth-telling and the morality of scientific credibility.[11] Peter Burke also reveals several methods of constructing the credibility of knowledge, such as the spirit of scepticism, geometrics, empiricism and the use of footnotes.[12] I ask whether it is possible to write a history of truth for late imperial China in particular, as much more research has already been conducted on the modern period.[13] From the perspective of the history of Chinese Science, Benjamin Elman has discussed evidential scholarship in science studies.[14] By using more sources pertaining to people's daily lives, I intend to explore the social and cultural history of truth in late imperial China.

[11] Shapin, *A Social History of Truth*, 65-125.
[12] Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge: from Gutenberg to Diderot: Based on the First Series of Vonhoff Lectures Given at the University of Groningen (Netherlands)* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 197-212.
[13] Grace Shen, *Unearthing the Nation: Modern Geology and Nationalism in Republican China* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 2014); Benjamin Elman, *A Cultural History of Modern Science in China* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2006).
[14] Elman, *On their Own Terms,* 223-81.

Appendix: Table of Miao albums with collection date and original collector.

Current Holder	Album Title	Original Collector (Seller or Donor)	Date collected
Bodleian Library	*Miaojiang Tushuo* 苗疆圖說 (MS.Chin.d.20)	Alexander Wylie (Missionary and scholar of Chinese literature)	30 May 1882
Bodleian Library	*Manliao Tushuo* 蠻獠圖說		1893
Bodleian Library	*Yunnan Sanyi Baimiaotu Quanbu* 雲南三迤百苗圖全部		1937
Pitt Rivers Museum	*Qiansheng Miaotu* 黔省苗圖, four volumes	Professor Edward Burnett Tylor (anthropologist)	1917 (donated by Taylor's wife)
Pitt Rivers Museum	Untitled album, three volumes.	Professor Edward Burnett Tylor (anthropologist)	1917 (donated by Taylor's wife)
The American Museum of Natural History Library	*Qiu Shizhou Xiansheng Shanshui Miaojing Renwu Zhengji* 仇十州先生山水苗景人物真跡	acquired by Berthold Laufer (anthropologist)	1901-1904 during the Schiff Expedition to China
The American Museum of Natural History Library	Yongzheng Yuzhuang Miaotu shikai 雍正御裝描圖十開	acquired by Berthold Laufer (anthropologist)	1901-1904 during the Schiff Expedition to China

Victoria and Albert Museum	*Lang Shining Hui Yiren Tu* 郎世寧繪夷人圖	submitted for purchase by E. Bischoff (Peking and 19 Mortimer Street, London) to the museum's art library	4 Feb. 1909.
Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg		Jerrold Stanoff (An Amerian from California)	early 1980s
British Library	*Luodian Yifeng* 羅甸遺風		12th January 1847
British Library	Untitled (Or. 11513)		1933
British Library (transferred from Indian Office Library)	*Pu'erfu Yudi Yiren Tushuo* 普洱府輿地夷人圖說		Acquired in 1904
British Library (originally collection of British Museum)	Untitled (Or. 5005)		1873
Museum Für Volkerkunde zu Leipzig	*Diansheng Yixi Yinan Tushuo* 滇省迤西迤南圖說	Hermann Speck von Sternburg (German Diplomat in Beijing)	Approximately 1890-1908
Forschungs-und Landesbibliothek, Gotha	*Mingren Jingxie Miaomantu* 名人精寫苗圖	Friedrich Hirth (Chinese maritime customs service; professor of Chinese, Columbia University	1890 (a gift to the museum; originally bought in Shanghai)

Musée National des Arts Asiatiques Guimet	*Miaotu Liushisi Ye* 苗圖六十四頁 (no. 23244)	Musée ethnographique du Trocadéro	September 1891
Musée National des Arts Asiatiques Guimet	*Zhongguo Neidi Fanmiao Fengsutu* 中國內地番苗風俗圖 (no.32216)	Mrs. Langweil (Asian Art Dealer)	March 1914 (gift)
Library of the Wellcome Trust Collection	*Yunnan Yingzhi Miaoman Tuce* 雲南營制苗蠻圖冊	Prof. Courant (brought from Peking)	1820
Liu Yong 劉雍 (artist and collector in Guizhou)	*Qishi Er Miao Quantu* 七十二苗全圖	Purchased in Beijing (originally collected in the late 19th century in Guizhou)	1993
Liu Yong 劉雍	*Bashi Er Miao Quantu* 八十二苗全圖	Purchased in Beijing	1993
Liu Yong 劉雍	*Qianmiao Tushuo* 黔苗圖說	Purchased in Guizhou from the offspring of Li Duanfeng 李端芬（1833—1907）, a reformer in late Qing	1980s
Library of Zhongyang Minzu Daxue	*Miaozu Tu* 苗族圖	Donated by Wu Wenzao 吳文藻 (1901-1985), an anthropologist	

Library of Chinese Academy of Social Science	*Diansheng Yiren Tushuo* 滇省夷人圖說	Purchased in Zhongguo Shudian 中國書店 with 50 yuan	24/January/1957
Library of Chinese Academy of Social Science	*Miaoman Tu* 苗蠻圖	Purchased in Zhongguo Shudian 中國書店 with 50 yuan	14/November/1963

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